Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-213
Thursday
3 November 1988

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Alia, Carcani Greet Algerian Leaders

AU3110194788 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 31 Oct 88

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, have sent the following telegram to Chadli Bendjedid, president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, and Abdelhamid Brahimi, prime minister of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria:

The celebration of the anniversary of the Algerian revolution gives us the particular pleasure, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and in our own names, of sending you, the government, and the friendly Algerian people warmest greetings and best wishes.

The Algerian people come to this significant day with a range of achievements in various fields of life, in the all-round development of their own country and in the defense of the victories of the revolution. The Albanian people with all their hearts wish them further, still greater successes to their own benefit and toward promoting the prosperity of their homeland.

We express the conviction that the traditional friendship that binds our two peoples and the close cooperation between our two countries will always be strengthened and developed in the future, to the common benefit of the Albanian and Algerian peoples, and in the interests of the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism.

Trade Union Delegation Returns From SRV

AU0211091688 Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Tirana, 2 November (ATA)—The delegation of the General Council of the TUA [Trade Unions of Albania] headed by the member of the presidium of this council, Hamit Shanku, who at the invitation of the Trade Union Federation of Vietnam took part in the proceedings of the 6th congress of this federation, returned home.

Ambassador to Cuba Presents Credentials

AU2610145088 Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Excerpt] Tirana, October 26 (ATA)—On October 24, 1988, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the Republic of Cuba, Clirim Cepani, presented the credentials to the vice-chairman of the Council of State, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez. [passage omitted]

Hoxha Portrayed as Defender of Youth

AU0211105588 Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian 29 Oct p 2

[Article by Mehmet Elezi, Albanian Union of Working Youth Central Committee first secretary: "'Our Enver', A Book to Which We Will Often Return"]

[Excerpts] "Our Enver," written by Comrade Ramiz Alia, is a book that thousands of boys and girls, members of the Albanian Union of Working Youth, are passing from hand to hand and reading in a similar spirit, like all communists and working people. [passage omitted]

I wish to stress, Comrade Ramiz writes, "without the slightest exaggeration, that children, pioneers, and young people, and care and labor for their upbringing, were not only one of Enver's special preoccupations, but were one of his 'weaknesses'."

This was not a personal "weakness" that simply arose out of the rich mental world, spiritual lucidity, and the fine sensitivity of our unforgettable leader. It was not simply a sentimental attitude founded on the of fear of hurting young people, spoiling their tender complexions in the sun and wind, or wearying them from sweat, because the sons and daughters of the people, as he was later to say at the rally in Gradishte, were not to grow up "tucked in warm beds;" they were to come to maturity and be uplifted by struggle and revolution.

This was not a paternalistic form of concern or a tendency to take young people in hand, becoming a tutor and babysitter who teaches and dictates everything to them. Our party's concern for young people was something organic, welling from within. There was a reason for this. In more than 2,000 years of our people's history, only the party has been able to lead the nation with such incomparable surety and farsightedness, guaranteeing it a happy present-day life with clear prospects that permit no turning back. Attention to the younger generation is nothing less than this care for this future, because "youth is the future of the homeland."

There were also other forces that turned their attention to young people and extended their hands toward them. N. Spiru and K. Xoxe "valued" and "cosseted" young people, and sought to encourage in them a spirit of "independence" from the party. M. Shehu evidently did the opposite: "Young people are becoming degenerate," "they are chasing after outrageous fashions," he would sputter with rage. Both sides sought the same end: to separate young people from the party, the first by spoiling them and encouraging a spirit of contrariness, and the second by attacking them and alienating them with epithets they have never deserved.

With boundless love and trust, the party and Comrade Enver defended young people to the end, but not by sheltering them under their wings in the way a hen broods over her chicks, nor by offering them candy to

bring them back into line. They defended them by exposing the enemies' tactics and showing the younger generation the true path, that of revolution, on which their rare talents and energies would find expression. Enver Hoxha "saw in young people one of the foremost assault forces in the struggle to liberate the nation, to carry out thorough revolutionary changes in town and countryside, and to develop and promote culture." "Our young people," Comrade Ramiz writes, "have always been at the fore in bringing to life the word of the party, and therefore fully deserve the title of 'heroic youth'." [passage omitted]

Leaders' Public Appearances for 16-22 Oct

AU2210195588 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts 16-22 October reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of broadcast in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, received on 20 October the Egyptian and Bulgarian ambassadors, who presented their credentials. (1900 GMT 20 October)

Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, received on 22 October the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil. (1900 GMT 22 October)

Ramiz Alia and "other party and state leaders," attended on 16 October a rally in Tirana to mark the 80th anniversary of the birth and to unveil a monument of Enver Hoxha. (0855 GMT 16 October)

Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, and Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo members; Llambi Gegprifti, Piro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali, and Vangjel Cerrava, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate members; and Nexhmije Hoxha, AWP Central Committee member, attended on 16 October a ceremony in Tirana, at which wreaths were laid on the grave of Enver Hoxha. (1430 GMT 16 October)

Besnik Bekteshi, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Llambi Gegprifti, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of industry and mines, attended on 18 October a ceremony held at the "Steel of the Party" metallurgical combine in Elbasan to mark the beginning of the construction of a ferrochrome processing plant. (2100 GMT 18 October)

Hajredin Celiku, AWP Central Committee Politburo member attended a rally held in the city of Lushnje on 20 October to commemorate the 44th liberation anniversary. (1900 GMT 20 October)

Leaders' Public Appearances for 23-28 Oct

AU2810150188 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts during the 23-28 October period reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of broadcast in parentheses):

A ceremony was held in the village of Verri, Tirana District, on the 45th anniversary of the Second Partisan Assault Brigade: The ceremony was attended by Pirro Kondi and Reis Malile. (1900 GMT 23 October)

Economic Progress Report for 23-29 Oct

AU2910195788 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 23-29 October carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of transmission in parentheses):

Gjirokaster District: The export plan up to 20 October was exceeded by 4 percent. (1900 GMT 27 October)

Kukes District: The export plan for the period up to 20 October was fulfilled 111 percent. (1900 GMT 26 October)

Permet District: The overall industrial production plan for the period up to 20 October was exceeded by 3 percent. (1900 GMT 25 October)

Pogradec District: Exports for the period to 20 October were five-fold higher than for the corresponding period of the previous year. (1900 GMT 26 October)

Tropoje District: The export plan to 20 October was fulfilled 110 percent. (1900 GMT 26 October)

Correspondent Criticizes Prague Demonstrations

AU0211170188 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Nov 88 p 4

[Article by Todor Koruev, RABOTNICHESKO DELO Prague correspondent: "Socialist Democracy Has Nothing in Common with Anarchy"]

[Text] Prague, 31 October—As the news agencies have already reported, on 28 October 1988, one day following the festive rally held in Wenceslas Square in Prague to mark the 70th anniversary of the Czechoslovak Republic, which was attended by 200,000 people, an attempt was made to organize an antisocialist demonstration.

It is well-known that this action was prohibited by the Prague-1 District Council. Despite this ban, the organizers of the antisocialist act did not renounce their intentions.

Today's RUDE PRAVO issue published a comment on the Friday events, under the title: "Who Confuses Democracy With Anarchy?" The commentary reads: "The provocative action in the center of Prague was prepared long ahead of time by the antisocialist and emigre circles and by certain dissident groups. The role of coordinator was assumed by certain Western mass media, the 'Voice of America,' above all. The intentions of the foreign instigators were obvious—open confrontation to jeopardize the restructuring process and to discredit Czechoslovakia as a signatory country of the CSCE Final Act."

The commentary stresses that illegal groups have recently intensified their activities. Such actions took place during the events surrounding the 20th anniversary of August 1968. It became known in October 1988 that illegal groups were formed under the name "Civil Freedom Movement" and that a manifesto with the hypocritical headline "Freedom for All" was published. This manifesto is inspired by alleged concern about the fate of Czechoslovakia. Its counterrevolutionary nature is revealed by the precisely expressed, specific demands: that the government and the country be taken over by counterrevolutionary forces relying on international reaction; that private property be gradually restored in all regions; that the present foreign policy orientation change; that freedom should be granted to antisocialist trends in education, and so forth.

What kind of people were those 2,000 who assembled in Wenceslas Square? The leaders of the demonstration were composed of compromised, criminal characters, people who are not engaged in socially useful labor, but also by persons who politically and morally discredited themselves during the period of crisis. I was in Wenceslas Square last Friday afternoon myself. The initiators of the provocation hoped to deceive and recruit young people who were there by chance, or had come out of curiosity, as well as the large crowds of tourists, in order to make their action more impressive. Many of those attending, however, were in a hurry to leave. Some of the hysterical demonstrators were throwing stones and bottles at the public security personnel, trying to start a fight with them.

I talked to many people during this time—people of different ages and professions. They all approved the actions of the authorities and expressed their indignation at the acts committed by the enemies of socialism within and outside the country, insisting that those who asked for chaos should get what they deserve.

The RUDE PRAVO article closes by stating: "The development of socialist democracy has nothing in common with anarchy. It is only by observing the laws and by consolidating socialist legality that we can guarantee the application of democratic rights and freedoms."

9-Month Plan Fulfillment Results Published

AU2910060188 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Oct 88 pp 1-3

["Announcement of the Central Statistical Administration on the Results of Fulfillment of the Uniform State Plan for Bulgaria's Scientific, Technical, and Socioeconomic Development During the First 9 Months of 1988—Achievements, But Also Grounds for Mobilization"]

[Text] During the past 9 months of 1988, the efforts of the labor collectives were aimed at fulfilling the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress, the July [1987] Plenum of the BCP Central Committee, and the BCP National Conference for qualitatively new growth in all spheres and activities of the national economy, and fulfilling and overfulfilling the production tasks.

A number of positive results were achieved in the development of the country's economy. The rates of growth achieved under the basic indexes were higher, as compared to the first 9 months of 1987 and the rates provided for in the Law on the 1988 State Plan. However, during the third quarter a certain decline occurred in growth rates as compared to those attained in the first half of the year.

By the end of September, over 75 percent of the annual state plan was implemented in terms of net output, aggregate profit, and social labor productivity. A rise in the output of the majority of products was achieved, as compared to the first 9 months of last year.

I. Basic Quantitative and Qualitative Indexes, Structural and Technological Changes.

The country's socioeconomic development during the first 9 months of 1988 was characterized by the following basic data:

Indexes	First 9 months of 1988 as percentage of first 9 months of 1987
1. New output (not including agricultural activities)	110.3
2. Social labor productivity (not including agricultural activities)	109.1
3. Goods production from all branches of material production	106.1
4. Material expenditure (not including depreciation) per 100 leva of output (not including agricultural activities)	97.6
5. Retail goods turnover	104.8
6. Services to the population carried out	108.3
7. Foreign trade goods turnover	103.7
8. Average wages of workers and employees in all branches of material production	104.9

Almost 88 percent of the rise in net production during the 9-month period was provided by the increase in social labor productivity. A relative saving of 730 million leva was achieved by reductions in material expenditures. During the 9-month period, the enterprises increased their profits from their economic activities, and retained a greater portion of the profits as compared to last year.

Profitability (aggregate profit per 100 leva of production funds) rose by 7.1 percent as compared to the first 9 months of 1987. The growth in social labor productivity outstripped the rise in wages by 4.8 percentage points. The fund yield, measured in net output per 100 leva of basic production funds, rose by 1.4 percent.

Higher results were achieved in the strategic directions that ensure the further technological renewal and structural improvement of production. The enterprises of the "Biotechnological and Chemical Industries," "Electronics," and "Agro-Industrial" complexes furnished over 70 percent of the increase in industrial goods output.

There was an increase in the output of new and improved products, whose volume during the 9-month period amounted to 3.4 billion leva, representing 9.6 percent of the industrial goods output. As compared to the first 9 months of 1987, the amount of renewed products rose by 1.2 billion leva, which represents two-thirds of the total increase in industrial production during the 9-month period.

There was an expansion in the technical reequipment of production capacities and the introduction of new and improved technologies. During the 9-month period 6,787 development projects for creating scientific products were completed, and 10,373 new technologies and and types of equipment were assimilated in production.

There was an increase in the available stock of automated means of production. Some 417 new numerically controlled metal-cutting machines were installed, and 150 automated processing lines, 2,633 production automation systems, 131 automated control systems, and other units were brought into service.

Efforts continued to be made to improve product quality and to expand and diversify the structure of manufactured products. The volume of industrial goods output awarded the state symbol of quality rose by 53.4 percent as compared to the same period of last year, the highest increases being achieved in the "Electronics," "Construction and Building Industry," and "Agro-Industrial" complexes.

Foreign trade goods turnover during the 9-month period reached 20.3 billion leva. As compared to the first 9 months of 1987, exports rose by 4.4 percent, and imports by 2.9 percent. Bulgaria deepened its integration with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA member countries and expanded its direct economic links with enterprises, firms, and organizations of the fraternal socialist countries and nonsocialist states. New enterprises and organizations were set up for joint activities, with the participation of firms and organizations from other countries.

The achievement of these basic results in the economy's development was accompanied by strain in a number of sectors. Sluggishness, mainly for subjective reasons, is still apparent in the introduction of scientific and technical achievements as a crucial factor in accelerating the development and improvement of production. In many enterprises, raw and other materials, fuel, and energy were not used thriftily and effectively enough. Unjustified overstocking and accumulation of stock in excess of the regulations was permitted.

The inadequate production of certain basic products seriously hampered the achievement of a proper relationship between the country's material balances, supplies to the population, and fulfillment of our obligations to the socialist countries.

The fallback in the production of basic types of products for the economy was mainly caused by failure to observe contractual obligations relating to material and equipment supplies and production-sharing deliveries, poor production and technological discipline, poor maintenance and incomplete loading of production capacities, and inefficient use of material and foreign exchange resources.

The social orientation in the activity of a number of economic organizations is still unsatisfactory. No substantial improvements took place in the production of goods for the domestic market and the performance of

services to the population. The enterprises that manufacture means of production are also making an insufficient contribution to more fully meeting the needs of the domestic market. The fulfillment of the housing program is seriously falling behind.II. Development of Material Production

The industrial economic organizations produced goods output valued at 36 billion leva, which represents 74.6 percent of the state plan for the year. Production rose by 5.4 percent as compared to the first 9 months of 1987. Social labor productivity increased by 8.6 percent. Prime cost per 100 leva of output fell by 1.9 percent, and material expenditures by 2.3 percent.

A profit of 899 million leva was achieved in excess of that provided in the plan for the enterprises. The additional profit from the introduction of scientific and technical development projects amounted to 268 million leva.

The results in the production complexes in terms of the basic indexes are as follows:

Indexes	First 9 months of 1988 as percentage of first 9 months of 1987		
	Goods Output	Net Output	Net Productivity
Electronics	116.9	116.6	111.6
Biotechnological and chemical industry	106.3	118.7	114.8
Transport, agricultural, and construction equipment	99.9	103.5	101.8
Heavy machine building	104.3	102.4	99.2
Metallurgy and mineral raw materials	103.0	153.3	149.7
Industry for man	104.3	104.8	104.2
Construction and building industry	102.2	113.1	117.2
Energy industry	100.5	90.4	89.3
Agro-industrial (not including agricultural organizations)	105.6	110.6	109.9
Forest industry	106.0	110.8	109.8

In spite of the good grow

th rates achieved, a considerable number of enterprises are failing to fulfill their own plans for production and raising production efficiency.

Social labor productivity was lower than that achieved in the first 9 months of last year in the following economic trusts: "Peripheral Equipment," "Transport Electronics and Electrical Engineering," "Balkancar," "Heavy Machine Building" in Ruse, "Agromashina," "Motor Building," "Elprom," "Mineral Raw Materials," "Bulgartabak," and "Bulgarian Beer." These and a number of other trusts contravened the relationship between the growth of social labor productivity and the rise in the average wage rates.

Certain economic enterprises have allowed material expenditure per 100 leva of output to rise as compared to the first 9 months of 1987. These include the following: "Microprocessor Systems," "Peripheral Equipment," "Motor Building," "Transport Electronics and Electrical Engineering," "Bulgarplod," "Viteks," "Vikhren," and "Zora."

The results in the individual oblasts according to the basic indexes (not including agriculture) are as follows:

Indexes	First 9 months of 1988 as percentage of first 9 months of 1987		
	Goods Output	Net Output	Social Labor Productivity
Burgas	103.9	109.4	109.2
Varna	105.6	108.5	108.2
Lovech	104.6	108.2	107.7
Mikhaylovgrad	106.9	110.8	110.3
Plovdiv	105.3	109.0	107.9
Razgrad	106.1	110.8	109.6
Sofia City	106.8	112.8	112.1
Sofia Oblast	106.1	116.0	114.1
Khaskovo	106.1	109.5	108.1

The development of the production complexes is characterized by the following data:

"Electronics" Complex

Basic products	Produced in first 9 months of 1988	First 9 months of 1988 as percentage of first 9 months of 1987
Printed-circuit-board automated control systems, units	32	128.0
Numerically controlled machine tools, units	351	94.6
"Crosspoint" automatic telephone exchanges, thousand lines	95	103.3
Machining centers, units	276	84.9
Color television sets, thousand units	93	86.6
Typewriters, thousand units	117	115.9

The manufactured goods output in the complex, valued at over 4 billion leva, was 570 million leva higher than in the first 9 months of last year, and provided 30.9 percent of the total increase in industrial output.

Tasks from the state plan relating to the creation of new technologies were introduced, including "Flat-Top and Differential-Type Gamma-Wave Reducers," the "'Microring' Series of Local Networks for Automating Project Design and Office Work," "Modular-Based Microprocessor Systems for Controlling Technological Processes," and "'Cartridge'-Type Magnetic-Tape Memory Devices."

Renewed products made up one-fourth of the total production, but still fell below that provided for in the state plan. The production of 10 out of the total of 14 new and improved products was not mastered.

Commercial prime cost per 100 leva of output fell by 3.1 percent as compared to the same period of 1987, while material expenditures fell by 2.0 percent. A profit of 75 million leva was realized over and above the plan figure. The rise in social labor productivity outstripped the increase in average wages by 7.6 percentage points.

The "Integrated Automation of Technological Processes" Economic Trust failed to fulfill the production plans for machining centers, numerically controlled machine tools, and automated technological modules for machining; the "Disk Memory Devices" Economic Trust did not fulfill the plans for production of disk subsystems for large computers, magnetic disk memory devices, and the state order for production of hard-medium magnetic disk memory devices; and the "Information and Communications Systems" Economic Trust did not fulfill the production plans for highly productive computer complexes and disk subsystems for large computers.

"Biotechnological and Chemical Industry" Complex

Basic products	Produced in first 9 months of 1988	First 9 months of 1988 as percentage of first 9 months of 1987
Complete air-conditioning installations, thousand leva	8,665	133.6
Synthetic resins, thousand tonnes	13	118.1
Soda ash, industrial grade, thousand tonnes	821	107.0
Perocin [perotsin], 75-percent basis, thousand tonnes	9	108.4
Nitrogenous fertilizers (including carbamide), thousand tonnes	739	127.3
Low-density polyethylene, thousand tonnes	61	112.0
Plastics, thousand tonnes	178	120.4
Phenoplasts (bakelite), thousand tonnes	6	105.5
PVC floor coverings, million square meters	23	108.8
Car tires, thousand units	709	100.9

During the 9-month period the economic organizations produced 347 million leva more industrial goods than in the January-September period of 1987. The complex provided 18.8 percent of the total increase in industrial goods output.

The state task "Technology and Equipment for Production of an Automated Control System for Hermetically Sealed Compressors and Compressor Motor Units and for Analysis and Optimization of Their Design" was introduced in the complex.

A number of new and improved products were mastered, including gelling plasticizers, biaxially aligned polypropylene film (cellophane), and a 3-phase scroll-type separating centrifuge.

The volume of new and improved products rose by 341 million leva as against the first 9 months of 1987. Renewed products represented 11.6 percent of the total volume of production in the complex.

The prime cost per 100 leva of output fell by 3.9 percent, and material expenditures by 4.2 percent. Profitability and the fund yield index rose considerably. The rise in social labor productivity substantially outstripped (by 9.6 percentage points) the increase in average wages.

The Devnya Economic Trust failed to fulfill the plan for industrial-grade soda ash, mineral fertilizers, and plastics, for which a state order had been approved, or its own plan for polyvinyl chloride; the "Agrobiokhim" Economic Trust failed to smoothly fulfill the state orders for sulfuric acid and phosphorus fertilizers; the "Neftokhim" Economic Trust did not fulfill the state order for plastics or its own plan for polypropylene; the "Verila" Economic Trust failed to fulfill its plan for synthetic resins; and the "Rubber Products" Economic Trust did not fulfill its plan for car and truck tires.

"Transport, Agricultural, and Construction Equipment" Complex

Basic products	Produced in first 9 months of 1988	First 9 months of 1988 as percentage of first 9 months of 1987
Electric lift trucks	35,809	99.6
Electric lift trucks with built-in pulse controllers	910	251.4
Internal-combustion-engined lift trucks	25,157	90.9
Electric hoists	96,715	99.7
Cement-mixer trucks	182	106.4
Articulated buses	209	91.3
Rail cars,	1,385	99.4
including passenger cars	40	235.3

The economic organizations manufactured new and improved products to the value of 479 million leva during the 9-month period, thus renewing 20.4 percent of their goods output. The production was mastered of new series of electric and internal-combustion-engined lift trucks, passenger railroad cars, and remote-controlled cable hoists. However, the mass production of certain types of products has still not begun.

The "6 September" Combine introduced a "Technology for Nil Machining of Electric-Lift-Truck Components." The state task relating to the introduction of a "Technology for Palletization and Packaging in Thermoplastic Foil, Version 1.0" was not fulfilled.

The economic organizations "Rail-Car Building" Economic Trust, "Balkancar" Economic Trust, "Automobile Building" Economic Trust, and "Factory Transportation Systems" Economic Trust failed to fulfill their own plans in terms of a number of natural indexes. As compared to the first 9 months of 1987, goods production, profitability, and fund yield were lower for the complex as a whole.

"Metallurgy and Mineral Raw Materials" Complex

Basic products	Produced in first 9 months of 1988	First 9 months of 1988 as percentage of first 9 months of 1987
Steel in blocks, cast blooms and slabs, thousand tonnes	2,142	95.5
Rolled ferrous metals (strip), thousand tonnes	2,480	103.4
Cast iron for processing, thousand tonnes	1,124	90.8
Rolled strip products, thousand tonnes	688	104.2
Foundry coke, thousand tonnes	920	111.3
Cast-iron radiators, thousand square meters	212	93.0
Hot-rolled sheet steel, thousand tonnes	975	102.2

During the 9-month period the complex produced goods to the value of 2.5 billion leva. The production range was diversified with a number of new and improved products: alloy steels, chrome-manganese-titanium steel, new ranges of rolled sectional steel from the "300" mill, high-purity tellurium, large-sized hard alloy blanks, alloys with a low gold content for use in stomatology, alpaca alloy strips, and capillary tubes.

New technologies were introduced in the complex for the production of presensitized aluminum plastics for printing, and a technology for the production of highly enriched sands for optics and glassmaking. The reconstruction, modernization and automation of an electric arc furnace was completed at the "Lenin" Technological Metallurgical Combine.

Material expenditures per 100 leva of output fell by 3.4 percent, as against the same period of 1987, while prime costs fell by 1.4 percent. Other economic indexes also showed improvements. At the same time, however, the "Metallurgy" Economic Trust failed to smoothly fulfill the state orders for steel in blocks, cast blooms, and slabs, rolled sheet from ferrous metals, and strip products from ferrous metals, and its own plan for foundry cast iron and rolled ferrous metals

"Heavy Machine-Building" Complex

Basic products	Produced in first 9 months of 1988	First 9 months of 1988 as percentage of first 9 months of 1987
Complete electric actuators with high-torque electric motors, units	30,827	94.5
Truck-mounted cranes, units	15	150.0
Rolling mill rolls, tonnes	2,110	110.3
Tractors, units	3,759	105.4
Electrodes for welding, welding on, and electric arc cutting, tonnes	16,213	117.8
Powerful high-voltage induction motors, units	58	80.6

During the January-September period the complex manufactured goods to the value of 1.6 billion leva, which is 58 million leva more than in the same period of 1987. The volume of new and improved products was valued at 354 million leva, representing 22.8 percent of the total production.

Regular production started of the type DP03.08.43 miniature motor, the 15/16 stepped miniature motor, and a robot-equipped installation for the hydroplastic treatment of metals.

Material expenditures and prime cost per 100 leva of output were reduced. More labor resources were employed. Social labor productivity was below the level achieved in the first 9 months of 1987.

Plans were not fulfilled for the following products, for which state orders had been placed: steel in blocks, cast blooms, and slabs, and rolling mill rolls, by the "Heavy Machine-Building" Economic Trust in Radomir; and rolled sections from ferrous metals, rolled strip products (not including tubes), and steel in blocks, by the "Metals Technology" Scientific Production Trust. Delays occurred in the mastering of 13 products included in the state plan for product renewal.

"Industry for Man" Complex

Basic products	Produced in first 9 months of 1988	First 9 months of 1988 as percentage of first 9 months of 1987
Cotton and cotton-type fabrics, million meters	265	103.1
Woolen and woolen-type fabrics, million meters	33	100.1
Knitted outerwear, million articles	36	101.4
Tailored goods, million leva	453	104.8
Footwear (not including indoor footwear), million pairs	18	106.1
Ceramic sanitary ware, thousand units	472	104.4
Ceramic tiles, million units	228	106.0
Furniture, million leva	280	105.1
Carpentry fittings, thousand square meters	96	96.1
Automatic washing machines, thousand units	42	94.3

The enterprises of the complex manufactured 154 million leva more products than in the first 9 months of 1987, which represented 8 percent of the overall increase in industrial output.

A number of new technologies and types of equipment were completed and brought into production, as a result of which production was mastered of new types of textiles, tailored clothing, knitwear, footwear, and so on.

New and improved products were manufactured to the value of 359 million leva, representing 9.4 percent of the industrial goods production of the complex.

Prime cost per 100 leva of output fell by 1.8 percent, and material expenditures by 2.1 percent.

The output produced by the complex for the commodity fund was valued at 2.1 billion leva, which is only 2.0 percent higher than that achieved in the first 9 months of 1987. The "Ruen" Economic Trust failed to fulfill the plan for knitted outerwear and underwear for which state orders had been placed; the "Stil" Economic Trust did not fulfill the plan for knitted underwear; the "Valentina" Economic Trust, for knitted outerwear; the "Sredets" Economic Trust, for footwear; and the "Perla" Economic Trust, for electrical water heaters.

"Power Industry" Complex

Basic products	Produced in first 9 months of 1988	First 9 months of 1988 as percentage of first 9 months of 1987
Electric power (total), billion kilowatt-hours	32	103.2
Power from the complex alone, billion kilowatt-hours	29	103.8
Coal, washed, million tonnes	25	92.4
Brown coal briquettes, thousand tonnes	1,103	103.3

The proportion of electric power produced at nuclear power plants rose from 28.4 to 35.8 percent.

A scientific product was created for further improving the technology for briquette production.

Material expenditures per 100 leva of output fell by 2.4 percent as compared with the first 9 months of 1987.

"Forest Industry" Complex

Basic products	Produced in first 9 months of 1988	First 9 months of 1988 as percentage of first 9 months of 1987
Softwood materials, thousand cubic meters	788	117.1
Hardwood boards and components (including steam-treated), trimmed, thousand cubic meters	124	101.7
Wood-fibre boards, thousand cubic meters	81	104.7
Shaped timber materials, thousand cubic meters	770	103.9
Paper, million square meters	3,818	104.6
Cardboard, thousand tonnes	53	110.7
Plywood, thousand cubic meters	34	100.9

Products were manufactured to the value of 924 million leva, which is 51 million leva more than in the first 9 months of 1987.

Prime cost per 100 leva of output fell by 2.1 percent, mainly through savings in material costs. Profitability increased and the fund yield improved.

Certain enterprises in the "Stara Planina" Economic Trust failed to fulfill the state orders for sawed timber crossbeams and their own plans for plywood production, while some enterprises in the "Pulp and Paper" Economic Trust failed to fulfill the plans for pulp and paper bags.

"Agro-Industrial" Complex

During the 9-month period the agricultural organizations in the National Agro-Industrial Union produced 10.8 percent more plant products than in the same period of 1987. In assessing this growth, one should bear in mind the comparatively low base of 1987, when the output of plant products fell by 6.8 percent as compared to the previous year.

It is expected that the production of cereal crops, tomatoes, onions, garlic, grapes, and other products will exceed that of 1987.

Notwithstanding the above, the production of a number of agricultural crops, such as wheat, sunflowers, sugar beet, tomatoes, potatoes, apples, grapes, and others, is not expected to reach the figures envisaged in the plan for the year. This is mainly attributed to the sowing of smaller areas than those prescribed in the state plan, and to insufficient care in crop cultivation, as well as to the farming weather conditions. Despite the favorable conditions, the collection of the harvest was delayed, especially in the case of sugar beet, grain corn, apples, potatoes, and peppers.

At the end of September the areas sown with wheat were 770 thousand decares less, and those sown with barley 120 thousand decares less, than on the same date in 1987. The sowing of smaller areas with these two crops is provided for in the agricultural organizations' own plans, with substantial reductions in sown areas having been planned for in Burgas, Mikhaylovgrad, and Lovech Oblasts.

Compared to the first 9 months of 1987, the agricultural organizations produced 0.1 percent more milk, the greatest increases being achieved in Plovdiv Oblast (4.5 percent) and Varna Oblast (3.6 percent), whereas milk production in Burgas, Lovech, and Mikhaylovgrad Oblasts and in Sofia City was lower than in the same period of 1987. Egg production rose by 4.5 percent, with production increasing in all oblasts, the greatest rise being achieved in Plovdiv Oblast.

The falling trend in the numbers of the main species of farm animals has still not been overcome. On 1 October 1988 the number of head of cattle was 2.5 percent lower than on the same date last year; the number of head of sheep fell by 3.3 percent; and the numbers of poultry fell by 0.1 percent. The greatest declines in the number of cattle were observed in Burgas and Razgrad Oblasts; in the number of sheep, in Burgas and Mikhaylovgrad Oblasts; and of poultry, in Sofia and Varna Oblasts. The number of pigs increased by 2.7 percent, and the numbers of laying hens rose by 4.4 percent.

The average milk yield from a fodder-fed cow fell by 39 liters, as compared to the first 9 months of 1987.

From all categories of farms, 447,200 tonnes of cattle and poultry were purchased by state order for slaughter, which is 6.4 percent more than in the first 9 months of 1987. Milk purchases amounted to 1,835.6 million liters, a rise of 1.8 percent, and 1,396.3 million eggs were purchased, an increase of 4.4 percent. This represents a 74.1 percent fulfillment of the annual state order for cattle and poultry, and an 80.3-percent fulfillment of the order for milk. The degree of fulfillment of the orders for cattle and poultry sales was highest in Varna and Razgrad Oblasts, and of the orders for milk, in Plovdiv and Khaskovo Oblasts. The shortfall in production by the agricultural organizations is creating strains in providing supplies of agricultural products to industry and to the domestic market, and for export. The decline in the numbers of animals in basic herds is causing certain difficulties in fulfilling the state plan for milk and meat production. Production output from enterprises of the food and tobacco industries amounted to 7.5 billion leva, showing an increase of 377 million leva as compared to the first 9 months of last year. This increase represents 20.5 percent of the overall growth in industrial production. The output of the complex for the domestic market rose by 4.0 percent.

Basic products	Produced in first 9 months of 1988, thousand tonnes	First 9 months of 1988 as percentage of first 9 months of 1987
Meat	416	106.5
Meat products	98	105.2
Flour	927	100.3
Dairy fats	19	92.0
Cheese	95	111.5
Refined sugar	267	89.6
Edible vegetable oils (not including soya)	101	98.5
Canned and bottled vegetables (not including pickles)	277	106.8
Canned and bottled fruit (not including pulps)	169	102.8
Animal feed mixes	3,107	108.8

The output of new and improved products was valued at 172 million leva; this included potato products, butter-based delicatessen sauces, children's meat-based diet foods, "Bravo" flour mixes, and a number of other items.

Prime cost per 100 leva of output fell by 0.7 percent as compared to the first 9 months of 1987, while material expenditures were reduced by 0.9 percent.

A large number of enterprises in the "Rodopa" Economic Trust, the "Poultry-Meat and Egg Production and Processing" Economic Combine, "Bulgarian Sugar" Economic Trust, and the "Vegetable Oils" Economic Combine failed to fulfill their own plans for basic products.

Certain enterprises in the "Bulgarplod" Economic Trust are not smoothly fulfilling the state orders for production of canned and bottled vegetables and fruit, while some agro-industrial complexes are failing to smoothly fulfill the state orders for canned and bottled vegetables and fruit and for children's foods.

"Construction and Building Industry" Complex

The building and installation organizations carried out construction work as main contractors to the value of 3,282.2 million leva, which is 2.5 percent more than in the first 9 months of 1987. During the 9-month period, 75.0 percent of the annual plan for construction work carried out by the construction organizations' own forces was completed, while 74.8 percent of the annual plan for the construction of installations for commissioning was fulfilled.

Capital investments of 5,713.4 million leva were assimilated during the 9-month period, which is 341.2 million leva, or 6.4 percent, more than in the same period of 1987. Notwithstanding this, only 53.1 percent of the annual plan for capital investment was completed, while 58.6 percent of the annual plan for capital investments in structure-determining projects of high national importance was fulfilled.

The municipal people's councils assimilated 934.4 million leva of capital investments during the 9-month period, representing 57.7 percent of the annual plan. The lowest degrees of plan fulfillment were achieved in Mikhaylovgrad Oblast (42.9 percent) and Plovdiv Oblast (51.3 percent).

During the 9-month period, 39.2 percent of the annual plan for commissioning basic funds was fulfilled. Substantial lagging in the commissioning of basic funds was noted in the following economic trust: "Agromashina," 18.4 percent; "Factory Transportation Systems" in Gabrovo, 24.5 percent; "Motor Building" in Varna, 14.8 percent; "Khiminvest" in Sofia, 15.7 percent;, "Plastkhim" in Botevgrad, 15.8 percent; "Agrobiokhim" in Sofia, 20.0 percent; "Bulgartabak," 15.8 percent, and others. The unsatisfactory results in the investment process primarily stem from insufficient concentration of capital investment, from the construction organizations deploying their forces on a large number of projects, and from setting the commissioning date for installations at the year's end. Because of this, considerable funds belonging to the state and the economic organizations are tied up in the growing volume of uncompleted construction.

The fulfillment of the state order for housing construction is a cause for alarm. During the 9-month period 29,260 housing units, or 36.1 percent of the numbers planned for the year, were brought into service. The

poorest results were recorded in Mikhaylovgrad, Razgrad, and Lovech Oblasts, and in the municipalities of Lovech, Vratsa, Turgovishte, Gabrovo, Ruse, and Razgrad.

Production of the main building materials by the enterprises in the complex was as follows:

Basic products	Produced in first 9 months of 1988	First 9 months of 1988 as percentage of first 9 months of 1987
Bricks, million units	763	100.5
Cement, thousand tonnes	4,088	96.7
Roof and ridge tiles, million units	40	95.7
Extruded panels, thousand square meters	200	85.1
Prefabricated reinforced concrete, thousand cubic meters	1,737	96.5
Water- and moisture-proofing materials, thousand square meters	9,863	97.2

The industrial goods output of the complex amounted to 1,078 million leva. Compared to the same period of 1987, prime cost per 100 leva of output fell by 1.4 percent, and material expenditures by 2.3 percent.

The "Cement" Economic Trust failed to fulfill the plan for cement production for which a state order had been placed; the "Building Ceramics" Economic Trust did not fulfill the plan for roof and ridge tiles; and the "Insulating, Facing, and New Building Materials" Economic Combine failed to fulfill the plan for bricks.

"Transportation" Complex

The economic organizations of the complex fulfilled their 9-month plan tasks in terms of basic economic indicators. As compared to the same period of 1987, increases were recorded in net output, aggregate profit, and social labor productivity, while material expenditures per 100 leva of output fell. However, alongside the generally good economic results, in a number of units and economic organizations technological and labor discipline, as well as the condition and standard of equipment maintenance, were unsatisfactory.

During the 9-month period 331.3 million tonnes of freight were carried, representing a 1.5-percent increase over the figure for the same period last year.

	Freight carried in 1988 first 9 months, thousand tonnes	First 9 months of 1988 as percentage of first 9 months of 1987
Railroad transport	60,391	97.8
Road transport	250,304	103.4
Sea transport	17,712	91.3
River transport	2,831	92.9
Air transport	20	110.0

Efforts continued to be made to introduce scientific and technical achievements into transportation. Five centers for automatically monitoring the locations of freight cars were put into service, as well as an automated system for controlling operations within the Varna ferryboat complex.

In road transport, a technology for controlling regional freight journeys in Plovdiv and Khaskovo was brought into pilot operation.

Operational testing began of the system for monitoring and controlling the transportation process within the "International Road Transport" Economic Trust.

Bridge platforms for discharging bulk freight without the use of grabs are now in service in Pernik and Gabrovo, and by the end of the year similar platforms will be completed in Chirpan, Reburkovo, Turgovishte, Veliko Turnovo, Pleven-West, and the "Pobeda" Economic Enterprise.

A total of 1,580.1 million passengers were carried, or 0.7 percent more than in the first 9 months of 1987.

"Communications" Complex

The material-technical base of communications continued to develop. The postal network was extended by a further 20 post offices, 12 of which are in villages. A total of 117,832 new telephones were installed, 102,505 of which were for domestic subscribers. In addition, 186 telex installations were opened, and 1 radio transmitter, 1 television transmitter, 58 radio relay stations, and 40 television relay stations were brought into service.

The revenue from communications services was 6.3 percent higher than in the first 9 months of 1987, while social labor productivity rose by 7.3 percent. However, the quality of services still does not meet requirements.
III. State of Contractual Relations.

The fulfillment of the plans for 1988 commenced with a high proportion of the work being covered by contracts. However, during the past period a number of weaknesses appeared in the execution of contracts.

There is a growing trend for some enterprises to fail to carry out fully and in a timely manner their obligations relating to production-sharing and material and equipment supplies. The total value of unfulfilled contracts also increased. In this manner, the enterprises in question are seriously hampering their partners' production work.

During the 9-month period 909 enterprises failed to fulfill their contractual obligations. The value of the unfulfilled economic contracts amounted to 1,070 million leva, of which the value of unfulfilled contracts ensuring fulfillment under the state orders and limits was 466 million leva. The "Biotechnological and Chemical Industry," "Transport, Agricultural, and Construction Equipment," "Metallurgy and Mineral Raw Materials," and "Agro-Industrial" complexes were responsible for the overwhelming proportion of the unfulfilled contracts.

Of the 830 contracts for production-sharing deliveries concluded between the enterprises of different economic trusts during the 9-month period, the execution of contracts for 202 types of products, or 24.4 percent, fell behind. The following economic trusts were chiefly responsible for the unfulfilled obligations: "Balkancar," "Integrated Automation of Technological Processes," "Factory Transportation Systems," "Heavy Machine Building" in Radomir, and the "Vehicle Building" Economic Trust.

Fulfillment of the contracts for the supply of material resources also gives cause for dissatisfaction. Of the 136 basic groups of raw and other materials monitored during the 9-month period, contracts are not being fulfilled for 115 of these. The degree of fulfillment was especially low in the case of contracts for the purchase of sectional and sheet tool steel, special steels, sodium sulfate, methyl alcohol, synthetic dyestuffs, noninsulated copper conductors, diamond grinding disks, and other items.

The failure to fulfill the obligations assumed under contracts demonstrates that relations between the socialist organizations are still not operating on an economic basis in the spirit of the Code for Economic Activity. The practice continues, in cases of culpable nonfulfillment of contracts, not to seek the recompense provided under the law for harm caused and lost income. This exerts an unfavorable effect upon guaranteeing material supplies for the national economy, economic growth rates, and the provision of goods for domestic and export markets.

IV. Meeting Consumer Demand for Goods and Services

During the 9-month period the economic goods producer organizations provided 11.1 billion leva of goods for the domestic market, representing 69 percent of the annual plan. As compared to the first 9 months of 1987, the rate of increase was 105.3 percent, which is 3.7 percentage points below the rate provided for in the state plan for 1988.

The comparative figures for goods supplied, as compared to last year, were as follows:

Main goods	First 9 months of 1988 as percentage of first 9 months of 1987
Meat, not including poultry meat	107.0
Poultry meat	103.4
Milk	102.4
White cheese	104.5
Yellow cheese	107.9
Butter (dairy fats)	103.5
Eggs	97.5
Edible vegetable oils	111.2
Sugar	107.5
Sugar products	103.1
Fresh vegetables	99.9
Fresh fruit	103.6
Children's foods	124.1
Soft drinks	106.0
Cotton fabrics	109.5
Woolen fabrics	92.7
Tailored clothing and articles	101.9
Knitted outerwear (total)	104.6
Knitted outerwear (children's)	
Knitted underwear (total)	103.6
Knitted underwear (children's)	113.1
Footwear (not including indoor footwear)	108.3
Stockings and pantyhose	102.4
Furniture	109.0
Washing machines	103.8
Domestic refrigerators	107.2
Color television sets	86.3

The quantities of meat, sugar products, potatoes, canned sterilized vegetables, compotes, children's foods, red peppers, beans, knitted outerwear and underwear, twin-compartment domestic refrigerators, electric water heaters, bricks, and roof and ridge tiles were below 75 percent of the annual state order. The production was also lower of fresh vegetables and fruit, fish and fish products, heating and cooking stoves, refrigerators, automatic washing machines, household porcelain and glassware, television sets, and cement. This caused disturbances in the domestic market and was the reason for disruptions in the sales of certain goods, and for the slower growth of the overall retail goods turnover.

During the 9-month period 37 economic organizations failed to fulfill their own plans; these included the following organizations: the "Microelectronics," "Peripheral Equipment," "Vehicle Building," "Agromashina," "Intermediate Products and Component Assemblies," "Railroad Car Building," "Heavy Machine Building" in Radomir and Ruse, "Perun,"

"Perla," "Domestic Machine Building," and "Hydraulics" Economic Trusts; the "Poultry Meat and Egg Production and Processing" Economic Combine; and the "Lazur" KTU [expansion unknown].

The "Industry for Man" and "Agro-industrial" complexes as a whole achieved an increase in output over last year, but their contribution to meeting the needs of the domestic market cannot be assessed as adequate.

In retail trading, including public catering, a goods turnover to the value of 12.7 billion leva was achieved, representing 71.8 percent of the annual state plan. As compared to the first 9 months of 1987, sales of goods were 582 million leva higher. Goods turnover increased in all oblasts, the greatest rises being achieved in Sofia City (7.5 percent), Razgrad Oblast (5.4 percent), and Lovech Oblast (5.0 percent).

Insufficient goods output was the main reason for the unsatisfactory state of the market. The list of food and nonfood goods in short supply on the domestic market became longer. This state of the market also stems to a considerable extent from weaknesses in the actual organization of trade and from irregular stocking of stores with sufficient quantities of goods in demand. Slowness was evident in making the breakthrough to direct contracting between trading establishments and producers. The working hours of a number of stores do not fully coincide with the customers' free time.

During the 9-month period, services were completed to a total value of 640 million leva, 49 million leva more than in the same period of 1987. By the end of September, 65 percent of the annual state plan had been fulfilled, but the increase achieved over last year was 4.5 percentage points less than that envisaged in the Law on the 1988 State Plan.

The comparative figures for services completed, as compared to last year, were as follows:

Main goods	First 9 months of 1988 as percentage of first 9 months of 1987
Elevator maintenance and repair	106.4
Construction and repair services	121.2
Motor vehicle maintenance and repair	111.3
Metal-cutting and machining services	108.9
Elevator maintenance and repair	106.4
Construction and repair services	121.2
Maintenance and repair of consumer equipment	107.5
Optical services	106.0
Laundry services	103.3
Textile and knitwear services	102.7
Dry cleaning	101.3
Footwear, leather, and haberdashery services	99.2
Furniture and woodworking services	102.3
Tailoring services	97.4
Radio and television maintenance and repair	99.6

More services were performed in all oblasts than in the first 9 months of 1987. The greatest increases were recorded in Varna Oblast (12.6 percent), Mikhaylovgrad Oblast (10.9 percent), and Razgrad Oblast (10.0 percent).

The network of everyday consumer services is expanding too slowly. In many centers of population, particularly in the villages, services are deteriorating instead of improving. There are shortages of spare parts and skilled workers. The municipal people's councils are not devoting the necessary attention to attracting more specialists to work in the services sector, as provided for in Council of Ministers' Decree No. 35. The quality and timely performance of certain services are not in conformity with modern requirements.

There is a clear need to accelerate the rates of production of goods and services in all production units. Good preconditions for this were provided by the decision of the Council of Ministers adopted at the beginning of October on further stimulating the production of consumer goods and services.

The results achieved in the 9-month period show that we have every possibility at hand for the successful fulfillment of the 1988 plan. To achieve this, it is necessary to fully mobilize the labor collectives, and to ensure tight organization, good labor and technological discipline, and unity of action on the part of all production units in the national economy, and a high sense of duty and responsibility on the part of every worker.

Johanes, Shevardnadze Assess Relations

AU0211155988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Oct 88 p 1

[Report by CTK correspondent: "J. Johanes Meets With E. Shevardnadze"]

[Text] Budapest—Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, met with Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, on the occasion of the committee session held by the Warsaw Pact ministers of foreign affairs in Budapest on Friday [28 October].

They assessed the state of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations and stressed that the meetings and talks between Milos Jakes and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee, as well as other ranking representatives of the two states, gave them new impetus.

They noted with satisfaction that the ties of friendship and cooperation between the fraternal nations of the two countries are strengthening in the course of the restructuring of all spheres of social life in the CSSR and the USSR, and in the course of the implementation of the principles of the new political thinking in the international sphere.

All that, the ministers stressed, is for the common benefit of socialism and for all countries of the socialist community, and contributes to the consolidation of their position in the contemporary world.

RUDE PRAVO Interviews Demonstrators

AU0211145688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Oct 88 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jaroslav Kojzar, Michal Podzimek, and Karel Walter: "Who Is Confusing Democracy With Anarchy?"]

[Text] Prague—The festive atmosphere of our national day, the 70th anniversary of the foundation of Czechoslovakia, was disturbed on Friday afternoon [28 October] by a provocative action of some 2,000 persons on Wenceslas and Old Town Squares in Prague, who gathered there in defiance of an explicit ban by the Municipal District National Committee in Prague-1.

On Friday, 28 October shortly before 1500 about 300 persons gathered in the upper part of Wenceslas Square. It became apparent that the organizers of the antisocialist demonstration had not backed away from their intention.

With the help of loudspeakers, employees of the national committee and members of the National Security Corps drew attention to the fact that the gathering had been forbidden and called on those present to leave the area of Wenceslas Square. Their calls remained without response, however.

An order-enforcing unit therefore received the order to step in and started to push the demonstrators out of the square. Meanwhile, at the level of Krakovska and Ve Smeckach streets, the crowd increased to between 900 and 1,000 people, with an approximately 1,000 additional people standing on the sidewalks. Water cannons and escort vehicles drove up to the area of Wenceslas Square. The provocateurs were chanting "Shame! Gestapo! Fascists!" Even the name of the first Czechoslovak president, T. G. Masaryk, was abused in undignified exclamations. Some of the demonstrators were throwing stones and bottles and inciting brawls.

As their calls to disperse went unheeded, members of the National Security Corps dispersed the crowd in accordance with the law. The action was complicated by the presence of curious bystanders. Many demonstrators then moved on to Old Town Square where they carried on their provocations. Here, too, order-enforcing units had to intervene.

A total of 87 persons were escorted to police stations. Some of them are being charged with misdemeanors and minor offenses, some with the criminal act of assault on a public official.

The provocative action in the center of Prague had been prepared for a long time by foreign antisocialist and emigre centers and some groups of dissidents. The role of coordinator was assumed by some Western media of NATO countries, especially the official radio station of the U.S. Administration—the Voice of America. The intention of the foreign inspirers was evident —to cast doubt, by an open confrontation, on the process of restructuring now under way, to discredit the CSSR as a signatory of the CSCE Final Act, to disturb law and order, and to slander our Republic abroad.

The activity of illegal groups manifested itself on an earlier occasion, during the anniversary of the August events. In mid-October they then stated their goals quite openly by setting up some sort of a subsidiary of the so-called charter under the name of "Civil Liberties Movement" and by issuing a pamphlet hypocritically entitled "Manifesto Democracy for All." The pamphlet is imbued with make-believe concern for the fate of our country. It completely ignores the changes which our society is undergoing at present. Of course, its counterrevolutionary substance does not dwell in its euphonic sentences, but in its clearly expressed demands: Government in the country is to be taken over by counterrevolutionary forces backed by international reaction; private enterprise is to be gradually renewed, not only in the economy but in culture as well; agricultural cooperatives

are to be parceled out; the foreign political orientation is to be changed and our defense capability gradually disrupted; the demands for separation of the church from the state and for freedom for antisocialist orientation in education are being voiced; and the like. How is all this to be achieved? By all means which the followers of this appeal "will themselves deem suitable." That is, translated into comprehensible language, even by violent means.

The call for participation in a provocative antistate demonstration on Wenceslas Square the day after the festive rally had been disseminated by various means for several weeks, and not only in Prague. In a letter to the initiators of the illegal gathering, the internal affairs section of the Municipal District Committee in Prague-1 banned the holding of this provocative event in accordance with the valid Czechoslovak legal order and an edict of the National Committee of the capital Prague. The information media notified the public of this decision.

Several dozen persons connected with the preparations of the provocation, who continued these preparations despite being cautioned several times, were detained on 27 October in accordance with the law. Bodies involved in criminal proceedings have also initiated prosecution on charges of sedition against individuals spreading various appeals and printed matter attacking our society. Western-made copying equipment and printing material, as well as papers confirming the receipt of considerable financial sums from abroad were found during searches in the homes of some of them. Papers confirming the receipt of over Kcs200,000 in Tuzex vouchers, apparently designed to finance persons actively involved in antistate activity, were found in one flat, for example.

The question must be asked: For what did the 2,000 people in Wenceslas Square want to demonstrate? The initiators of this antistate action would certainly be pleased if we wrote that the 2,000 Czechoslovak citizens came to demonstrate for their aims. However, as the profile of some of those who were brought before the authorities shows, in one rank with them there were also criminal elements and political bankrupts of the years of crisis, and there were also young people who cannot even explain the concrete meaning of the slogans and appeals they were shouting. We spoke to some of them later.

"We, young people, wanted to freely express our views," Martina J., a 20-year-old worker from the "Liberated Household" communal enterprise, told us. How do you understand freedom? "Freedom is listening to the music I like. I cannot stand tearjerker disco songs." Are you married? "No. And I do not want to have children, because that would make me just as obtuse as everyone else. Clocking out on Friday at 2 pm and attending to the family, that is not my cup of tea!"

Among the slogans chanted on Wenceslas Square was "Masaryk! Masaryk!" What do you know about Masaryk? we asked Roman D., a 27-year-old driver from Hradec Kralove. "That he put together this republic, had an American wife, and died before World War II. I do not know much." Do you read newspapers? Do you take an interest in developments in our country? "I do not read newspapers, I read novels." Have you heard something about "Charter" people or similar people? "The other day people in the bar were saying that the Charter people are getting money from the West. People do not trust them much any longer."

Why did you come to Wenceslas Square? "I do not know," another demonstrator, 37-year-old plumber Jiri M. from Prague, told us. "Some elements were there, so I wanted to see the police in action..."

What are we to add to the event that took place in Prague on Friday? It took place after Thursday's [27 October] festive rally at Wenceslas Square, at which 200,000 people pledged full support to the political line of the CPCZ. The organizers of the provocative get-together undoubtedly wanted to provoke a counter-demonstration, by means of which they pursued subversive aims—to sow unrest among the working people and misuse young people. Its essence was and remains antisocialist. It was actually also an action against restructuring and democratization. Everyone who was present must be reminded of this.

The development of socialist democracy has nothing in common with anarchy. Only the observance of laws and the strengthening of socialist legality guarantee the full use of democratic rights and freedoms.

'Profile' of Demonstrators Composed

AU0311093388 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 31 Oct 88 p 2

[Editorial article: "A Resolutely Liquidated Provocation"]

[Excerpts] Prague— The festive atmosphere of our national day, the 70th anniversary of the foundation of Czechoslovakia, was disturbed on Friday afternoon [28 October] by the conduct of some 2,000 persons, including criminal elements, in Wenceslas and Old Town Squares in Prague. The initiators also exploited some of the young people who were present. [passage omitted]

We have asked the Prague authorities involved in criminal proceedings about the moral and human profile of some of the people who were detained. Our small probe shows that they are mostly declasse elements, people on the fringe of society, who are trying to make up for their disorderly personal lives with pseudo-political activity. Z.Z. (born in 1951) from Prague-10, for example, is not only known as a rioter, he has also broken into a newspaper stand, and has undergone treatment in a psychiatric ward and as a drug addict. J.N. (1958) from

Mlada Boleslav is a registered drug addict who has repeatedly been hospitalized at Kosmonosy; M.S. (1964) had, until May, been employed in the Prefa plant in Radotin, but ever since has been wandering about the entire republic without working. The Prefa plant cancelled his contract of employment because of his repeated absences from work. T. Ch., a minor, has been expedlled from the vocational school because of absenteeism. M.H. (1962), doctor of law, registered in Prague-4 and living in Prague-5, is one of the initiators and organizers of the antisocialist elements' action. At her workplace at the Municipal District Housing Enterprise in Prague- 2, she has repeatedly been penalized because of gross inadequacies in her work. She is frequently absent from her workplace and has missed almost one-third of her working hours, supposedly for reasons of child care. However, according to information from her place of residence, she does not look after her child, who is attended to by her mother. She has used this time mostly for antistate activities.

The leadership of the National Committee of the capital Prague has decided that the employers of all detained persons will be informed in writing about the participation of their employee in a banned provocative action by a group of persons and criminal elements. It will recommend that their deed be publicly discussed in their labor collectives.

On this occasion the National Front City Committee and the Prague National Committee express thanks to members of the Public Security Corps and the units that enforce order, and to all honest citizens of Prague, who energetically and uncompromisingly eliminated the antisocialist provocation of declasse elements and enemies of socialism who were trying to abuse the 70th anniversary of the foundation of our republic for their antistate objectives.

Foreign 'Organizers' of Demonstration Criticized

AU0211144588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Oct 88 p 6

[Vera Posledni commentary in the "A Note" column: "Catch the Thief"]

[Text] After the dispersal of unauthorized demonstration in Prague on Friday [28 October], the ruling circles as well as the press in some NATO countries in particular virtually bombarded Czechoslovakia with thunder and lightning. In this case they have somehow "forgotten" that they do not measure with one yardstick, that in their countries, too, every demonstration must be reported and permitted in advance, otherwise the authorities in each country have the right to use law enforcement forces against its participants, whatever this involves.

These people, who have hardly mentioned the important anniversary of our history, are now providing ample space to dramatic commentaries and interviews with persons who have an antistate orientation.

Even various warnings are given and grades awarded to Czechoslovakia. For example, Phyllis Oakley, U.S. State Department spokeswoman, stated that "...Czechoslovakia must cover a long road to overcome the discrepancy between the current practices of the authorities and the ideals on which the republic was founded." What are the ideals they are talking about? This already became clear from the recent visit by John Whitehead, U.S. deputy secretary of state, to some socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia. He was more impressed by his meeting with an antistate group than his meeting with our representatives. This group even demanded—according to BBC on 16 October—that "the United States not grant Czechoslovakia the most favored-nation status in mutual trade as long as the position of the Czechoslovak Government on human rights does not improve," by which domestic antistate groups are meant. According to the information supplied by Mr Whitehead to the NATO Council in Brussels, considerable political hopes are being pinned on these opposition groups, and they are also being purposefully supported from various funds of the NATO countries. In any case, Mrs Oakley did not leave anyone in doubt when she said: "We will continue to support those people in Czechoslovakia who are working for the day when that chasm will be bridged."

The objectives pursued by Friday's antistate demonstration in Prague were formulated by the British Foreign Office in a statement, which was published in THE TIMES immediately after its dispersal. The statement says that "this action was absolutely inexcusable and will only make Czechoslovakia's record on human rights even worse and damage its international reputation."

And this is what the organizers of the antistate demonstration, as well as those who pay them, were after.

Zavadil Presents Trade Union Council Positions

AU2510101288 Prague PRACE in Czech 19 Oct 88 pp 3, 4

["The Course of the Central Trade Union Council in Implementing the Conclusions of the National All-Trade Union Conference; Report of the Central Trade Union Council's Presidium Presented by Central Trade Union Council Chairman Miroslav Zavadil at the Council's Sixth Plenary Session" in Prague on 18 October]

[Excerpts] We have convened shortly after the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session, which adopted a number of significant decisions for enhancing the consistency and rate of implementing the policy of restructuring and democratization. We express here our agreement with, and support for, the conclusions adopted by the session. We are convinced that they will further enhance the confidence felt by the general public in the party's policy, and the certainty that restructuring is a good thing and can be carried out.

The task of the sixth plenary session of the Central Trade Union Council (URO) is to define our course in implementing the conclusions of the National All-Trade Union Conference. [passage omitted]

The National All-Trade Union Conference unambiguously proved that the members of our Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH) are resolved to energetically contribute toward implementing the policy of restructuring our society as the only possible alternative for advancing socialism in our country. The conference expressed full support for the CPCZ's policy and its leading role in society. We value the fact that Comrade Milos Jakes expressed high appreciation of the results of our conference in his opening statement at the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session. This commits us to work even better, and to be even more forceful in promoting the revolutionary transformations in our country.

What can we consider to be the main contribution of the conference?

The fact that it proceeded from the views of ROH members. It realistically appraised the political and economic situation of our republic. Realizing their responsibility, the delegates made it clear that the working people's justified demands must not be treated lightly, that one cannot play games with the trust of the workers' class. But they also made it clear that the trade unions are not, so to speak, holding our their hands for handouts. [passage omitted]

The generally positive appraisal of the conference must not make us overrate its results. We have no reason for complacency.

We appraise the life of our society and the trade union organization realistically. We know that some people are pulling their weight, others are sponging on them, and yet others are marking time. We know that many people accept restructuring and agree with it—until it starts placing demands on them.

We are worried by the decreasing work initiative and weakening impact of various forms of socialist competition. We know (and the conference has confirmed this) about a kind of baffled wonder as to how to make work initiative more effective, and where. This also applies to URO approaches. The first step in this sphere are the proposed changes in the activities of socialist labor brigades—but it should be followed by other steps.

The statements of a number of delegates testified to their persisting, incorrect belief (obviously confirming the views held by many ROH members) that "restructuring can be introduced from above." This is an illusory belief in the powers of central agencies and in the ability of the government and the URO to arrange everything.

We must deal with this view, among other things, by means of effective propaganda, by explaining the conclusions adopted by the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session on the role played by the center and the working collectives in the implementation of the restructuring process. [passage omitted]

We recommend including the spheres of trade union activities touching on the life and work of most of our members (a number of suggestions and comments at the conference referred to them) in the agenda of the next URO plenary sessions.

Which spheres does this concern?

1.The National All-Trade Union Conference stressed that the ROH must place greater emphasis in its ideological-educational work on directing the members to adopt a more energetic attitude in restructuring the new economic thinking and pursuing their work and duties, intensifying their legal awareness, and devoting increased care to training the next generation of workers. We expect these issues to be discussed in January 1989 at the seventh URO plenary session, which will follow up on the deliberations of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session and formulate the tasks of the ROH's ideological-educational activities within the process of restructuring our society.

2. The conference devoted extraordinary attention to other spheres—working people's health care and environmental problems. We recommend discussing these issues at the URO plenary session in May-June 1989. [passage omitted]

3. Many critical observations at the conference concerned the wages policy. In this context we call upon the CSSR Government to comprehensively appraise the situation in the course of next year and to adopt appropriate radical measures. We presume that we will discuss ROH tasks in the sphere of wages policy (together with the solution of the problem along state lines) at the ROH plenary session in the second half of 1989.

4. In the interests of strengthening the URO's control function, we expect the agenda of its plenary sessions to include reports on the way the conclusions adopted by the third and fourth URO plenary sessions and other tasks are being carried out under the conditions of certain primary organizations, districts, regions, and trade unions. [passage omitted]

At the National All-Trade Union Conference, many a critical word was addressed to the CSSR Government (particularly in connection with problems which have not been resolved on a long-term basis although, as many delegates stated, they had been discussed already at the 10th All-Trade Union Congress). **However, we consider it right to stress that this was no cheap criticism, or criticism for its own sake. In the deliberations there was no place for demagogy, for exerting pressure, or for voicing**

unrealistic demands. On the contrary, most critical views were voiced in the awareness of joint responsibility for the existing situation and its solution. [passage omitted]

We are sincerely interested in further intensifying cooperation with the CSSR Government, in a joint course with the national governments, and in effective collaboration between trade union committees and economic management. The cooperation of trade union agencies, legislative bodies, and national committees must be more specific. [passage omitted]

The trade unions and the state must not be counterposed. Even today Vladimir Ilich Lenin's words are as topical as ever: Trade unions are the source of state power, the basis without which the state functions cannot be carried out. [passage omitted]

The URO Presidium and the CSSR Government should convene to discuss the results of the National All-Trade Union Conference and the ROH's participation in the implementation of the government declaration by the end of November. **The basic long-term tasks of mutual cooperation are contained in the URO report and the conference resolution. In our view, the most urgent and topical of them are:**

—to provide for sufficient industrial consumer goods and foodstuffs on the domestic market;

—to resolve the problem of transportation to working places; to realistically determine what can be resolved, and when—this also includes exerting joint influence to achieve the optimum use of working hours and to activate trade union organizations for the production of desirable spare parts;

—to discuss the amended principles of activities of our socialist labor brigades so as to make them valid on 1 January 1989;

—to evaluate the existing ideas and legal regulations governing the social consumption of enterprises; and to define its contents, which should correspond to the new economic mechanism. This is also connected with the need to prepare a new decree on the fund for cultural and social needs. We expect the appropriate proposal to be submitted to the trade union public for consideration;

—to prepare a new legal government document on collective contracts; its draft has already been submitted to trade union agencies and certain primary organizations, which should express their views on it. Their suggestions will be used for working out the URO's toward the government, so that the decree mentioned above can be issued.

The URO Presidium will persist in demanding that the government speed up (in line with the unanimous view of the delegates) the preparation of the legal norm introducing the duty to prove the sources of property acquired from disproportionate income. We also trust that the government will soon adopt a stand on the proposal of the all-trade union conference on awarding state decorations. [passage omitted]

The National All-Trade Union Conference fully supports the proposal to carry out changes in the organizational structure of the trade unions. [passage omitted] **The written document submitted here contains the following proposals:**

1. Proposal to merge the food industry workers trade union and agricultural workers trade union into an agricultural and food industry workers trade union.

2. Proposal to transfer certain groups of trade unions to other trade unions, in line with the reorganization of certain ministerial branches along state lines.

3. Proposal to carry out changes in the structure of trade union bodies.

The substance and principles of these changes have been substantiated at the third URO plenary session and the National All-Trade Union Conference. [passage omitted]

Our intentions should be supported by the expansion of the URO Presidium to include two additional Central Committee chairmen of trade unions from the production sphere which operate on a federal scale; and by the regular participation of other chairmen in the deliberations of the URO Presidium. [passage omitted]

The URO Presidium believes that the resolution of the National All-Trade Union Conference lays down the main orientation of ROH activities in the coming period. The resolution should form the framework of trade union activities and the basis of working out plans for the work of trade union bodies and primary organizations in 1989.

The National All-Trade Union Conference devoted great attention to the economic reform and its practical implementation. Our activity in this direction is not satisfactory. Many all-trade union and trade union agencies are not showing sufficient interest. We see a trend toward generalization and scant specific knowledge. The main problem is the insufficiently effective mass political work in explaining the purpose of economic transformations. [passage omitted]

The results in plan fulfillment since the beginning of 1988 show a rising trend, but we still have serious problems with indicators that are decisive for appraising the overall efficiency of our economy. The intensification process is not progressing at the necessary rate.

We are aware that our trade union organization shares the responsibility for the fulfillment of the 1988 state plan and the whole Eighth 5-Year Plan. We must repeat

that the accomplishment of economic tasks is the basic prerequisite for fulfilling our mission in developing care for the working man. [passage omitted]

A number of delegates justly criticized at the conference the unsatisfactory state of our domestic market. In order to stabilize it we must demand that all government resolutions be consistently fulfilled. Excuses or justifications are unacceptable here. We can no longer tolerate anonymous approaches to the solution of specific shortcomings. This leads to the citizens' justified alarm and a disparagement of the policy of restructuring.

We should approach matters in this sphere realistically. We do not expect immediate changes where we have no prerequisites, but we do ask the responsible figures to frankly and truthfully inform the public about the situation of the domestic market. [passage omitted]

We call upon trade union organizations in all enterprises and plants producing industrial consumer goods and foodstuffs to look for ways to raise production and to produce over and above the plan those products which correspond to the citizens' real needs and interests.

We also call upon the working collectives whose program is not focused on producing consumer goods to do their share and show initiative in helping to improve the situation of the domestic market. [passage omitted]

We know that certain objective causes and influences negatively affect the working initiative in some enterprises; this primarily applies to insufficient, irregular deliveries of raw materials, etc. We trust that this, too, will change. [passage omitted]

Soon we will be celebrating the 70th anniversary of the establishment of an independent Czechoslovak state. The best way to express our attitude toward this historically significant event is honest and devoted work for socialism. [passage omitted]

Public Poll on Czech-Slovak Ties Favorable

AU3110142488 Prague HALO SOBOTA in Czech No 43 28 Oct 88 p 1

["Vic"-signed article: "On Relations Between Czechs and Slovaks"]

[Excerpts] The Institute for Public Opinion Research attached to the Federal Bureau of Statistics periodically examines citizens' views on nationality policy. When we compared data generated by surveys carried out in the last 10 years, we found that the overwhelming majority of our citizens evaluate cooperation between Czechs and Slovaks as good.

Compared with the situation in the pre-Munich republic, more than two-thirds of respondents assess current Czech-Slovak relations as more sincere and friendlier. About 10 percent of respondents said that no changes have occurred in these relations, while 4 percent said that mutual relations have deteriorated, and 20 percent were unable to deliver an opinion on this question. [passage omitted]

More than 60 percent of respondents assess mutual assistance between the fraternal nations as important. The inhabitants of Slovakia appreciate the share of the Czech working people in the building of the national economy in the postwar years. The Czech public, on the other hand, positively assesses Slovakia's contribution to the building work in the recent past or at present.

More than 80 percent of respondents said that current relations between Czechs and Slovaks were friendly, while 14 percent see these relations as indifferent, and 3 percent as hostile. [passage omitted]

Three-quarters of those questioned expressed appreciation for the federal system of our state, despite its shortcomings. [passage omitted]

As far as nationality policy is concerned, 80 percent of Czechs, Slovaks, and citizens of other nationalities living in our country believe that it is correct.

The number of positive replies to the question of whether Czech culture contributes to the enrichment of the Slovak people has increased from 75 percent in the mid-seventies to 90 percent at present (while the number of negative replies decreased from 25 to 6 percent). Roughly three-quarters of questioned Czechs noted that Slovak culture is important to the enrichment of their lives. [passage omitted]

Krolikowski 'Released' From Council of Ministers

LD0311175688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1700 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Because he is assuming another function in the SED leadership, Werner Krolikowski has, in accordance with a decision by the Council of Ministers, been released from his position as a member of the Council of Ministers and of the Council of Ministers Presidium and his position as first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers thanked Werner Krolikowski for his many years of successful work.

The Council of Ministers confirmed former Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Guenther Kleiber as first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and released him from the his position as GDR permanent representative to CEMA. Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, has been confirmed as the GDR's permanent representative to CEMA.

Spokesman on Berlin Air Traffic Proposals

LD0311133788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1213 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Foreign Ministry spokesman Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer stated to ADN on Thursday:

The note from the GDR Foreign Ministry to the foreign ministries of the United States, Great Britain, and France on questions of cooperation in air traffic has received considerable attention from the western side. Western media cannot but concede to the GDR that its proposals are justified.

It is therefore all the more astonishing that this note, at the behest of the Western powers, has been returned without serious examination. Throughout the world the questions of flight safety are given great attention. It was purely and simply a question of increasing flight safety, in the interest of the lives and health of travelers, that the GDR was concerned with its proposal to coordinate air traffic subject to the so-called third air traffic control center in Berlin (West) and the air traffic to and from Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport. Such coordination, furthermore, would be in agreement with internationally accepted norms.

It was with the same aim that the GDR Foreign Ministry forwarded together with the above-mentioned the flight regulations applying to Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport and asked that they be observed.

These steps would without question have been in the spirit of the cooperation recently considered again by the Western side on issues concerning air traffic to and from Berlin (West), which, of course, have to safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of the GDR.

Attempts to solve such questions over the GDR's head, and assertions made by the Western media that the GDR allegedly has no responsibility for this can only lead to an impasse. Respect for existing realities and the GDR's sovereignty are an indispensable basis for cooperation on these issues as well. Differing positions on the legal aspects will not be affected by this.

Regardless of the negative reaction of the three Western powers the GDR will stick to its proposals, which correspond to its policies and which are directed toward peaceful cooperation, and is prepared to enter into talks on them at any time.

Honecker Greets CSSR Leaders on National Day

AU3110135088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Oct 88 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, sent the following telegram to Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, and Gustav Husak, president of the CSSR:

Dear comrades!

On the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak state, I convey to you, the CPCZ Central Committee, and the CSSR fraternal people cordial greetings and congratulations of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the GDR people.

The founding of the Czechoslovak state in 1918 was the result of the Czech and Slovak people's resolute action, inspired by the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution, for national independence and state sovereignty. During the bourgeois republic, in the difficult times of the Munich diktat, and the subsequent fascist occupation, the Czechoslovak workers class, led by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, was at the head of the national and social liberation struggle.

The working people's victory over reaction in February 1948, for which the smashing of fascism by the Soviet Union created the decisive prerequisite, definitely ensured for the peoples of Czechoslovakia a life in freedom and socialism, based on equal rights. This is reflected in the constitutional law on the federation which was adopted 20 years ago.

Its active work for the strengthening of peace and progress has earned the CSSR high international prestige and worldwide respect.

In continuation of the traditions of the joint struggle of Czech, Slovak, and German Communists, solid ties of fraternal friendship have developed between the GDR and the CSSR. I am deeply convinced that the relations between our parties and countries will continue to develop on comprehensive basis for our people's benefit.

I wish you and the entire Czechoslovak fraternal people further great successes in the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the 17th CPCZ Congress.

E. Honecker

SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman

SED Allegedly Influences Gorbachev Speech

AU0211130988 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 2 Nov 88 p 5

[Bernt Conrad report: "Did the SED Participate in Writing Gorbachev's Speech?"]

[Text] Bonn—The SED leadership obviously helped formulate the harsh passages on Berlin's and Germany's policy in Gorbachev's toast during the chancellor's visit to Moscow. The mediator was Aleksandr Bondarenko, a Soviet expert on Berlin, who has been known as a hardliner since Brezhnev's time. This is a conclusion arrived at by Bonn diplomats as a result of the events in Moscow and East Berlin.

Those knowledgable in the matter immediately noticed how near the political positions were to those of the SED, when the Soviet party chief unexpectedly made polemic and restrictive statements on Berlin and the German question at the festive banquet in the Kremlin on the first evening of Kohl's visit. "Bondarenko was certainly involved in this," they said.

The department head in the Soviet Foreign Ministry, who also conducted the preparatory talks on the Berlin formula for the environmental protection agreement and the 2-year program for the cultural exchange with representatives of Bonn's Foreign Ministry, had been to East Berlin for consultations before the chancellor's visit to Moscow. In the view of experts, there he not only coordinated the formulations of the Soviet response to the Berlin initiative of the three Western powers of December 1987 but also the passages on Berlin and Germany in Gorbachev's toast.

This view was confirmed afterwards by the information that "Mikhail Gorbachev's representative," who, according to the GDR press, briefed SED chief Erich Honecker on the contents and course of the chancellor's visit, was none other than Bondarenko. This finally showed the key role still played in Soviet foreign policy by the man who for years had prevented sensible settlements of the Berlin issue or the German-Soviet cultural agreement.

It is characteristic that, in addition to a generally positive overall assessment of the chancellor's visit, the summary of Honecker's talk with Bondarenko was the statement on the Berlin issue that when new politicians in Bonn "want to make West Berlin the test issue for concessions from the Soviet Union, they are violating the current international law. Therefore, a very clear answer was given to such attempts in Moscow."

Despite these demonstrative statements, those responsible in Bonn still hope that in the future the Soviets will adhere more to Gorbachev's rather cooperative attitude in his internal talks with Kohl than to the general secretary's toast which was aimed "out the window." More details about this will be known soon when Berlin's still open inclusion in the planned inland-navigation agreement and the legal-aid agreement, which has been on the agenda for a long time, are discussed in preparation for Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Bonn next year. At that time the leading Soviet negotiator will again be, without any doubt, Bondarenko.

Deputy Foreign Minister Meets Mideast Officials

Talks With Egypt's Ghali

LD2510202588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1711 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] Cairo, (ADN)—Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Dr Butrus Butrus Ghali, received the deputy GDR foreign minister, Dr Heinz-Dieter Winter, for a talk in Cairo on Tuesday. Dr Winter is in Cairo for political consultations. The latest positive changes in international developments were welcomed in the intensive exchange of views. The two sides concurred in noting that these must be taken advantage of in the political settlement of regional conflicts, also with regard to a just solution for the Middle East problem.

They put forward the view that an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations would be the best way of settling the Middle East problem in a comprehensive, just, and therefore lasting way.

Dr Winter explained the GDR's policy which is aimed at the preservation of peace, arms limitation and disarmament, and the comprehensive peace program of the Warsaw Treaty states. The two sides stressed the link between disarmament and development and spoke out in favor of supporting worldwide efforts for the creation of nuclear weapons-free zones.

Dr Butrus Butrus Ghali and Dr Winter noted with satisfaction the high level of bilateral relations and discussed ways of deepening the political dialogue between their states.

Meets Kuwaiti Minister

LD2710225488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1411 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] (ADN)—GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Dr Heinz-Dieter Winter today discussed international issues and further developing bilateral relations in Kuwait with Kuwaiti Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Sa'ud al-Usaymi.

During the friendly meeting, both politicians expressed satisfaction at the positive changes started in international relations. They were in agreement in emphasizing the necessity for new moves in the disarmament process following the treaty between the United States and the USSR on the removal of their intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

Both sides welcomed the start of negotiations between Iran and Iraq and spoke in favor of a lasting political settlement of the Gulf conflict with regard to the legitimate interests of both sides.

The parties reiterated their support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people, who are struggling for the fulfillment of their national rights. They demanded that an international peace conference be called, as a suitable way toward a comprehensive solution to the Middle East conflict.

The politicians noted the level of bilateral relations achieved with satisfaction. They stressed their interest in further shaping cooperation to the advantage of both sides.

Official Signs Work Protocol With Sweden

AU3110170988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Oct 88 p 5

[Text] Stockholm (ADN)—Deliberations of the government commissions on the long-term trade agreement and the agreement on economic, industrial, and technological cooperation between the GDR and Sweden were concluded in Stockholm on Thursday [27 October]. Both sides stated unanimously that the goods exchange has developed dynamically the past years. The chairmen of the commissions, Siebold Kirsten, director in the GDR Ministry for Foreign Trade, and Lars Stalberg, state secretary in the Swedish Foreign Ministry, signed work protocols for 1989.

Trade With Belgium, Luxembourg To Expand

AU2810140788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Oct 88 p 3

[Text] East Berlin—On Tuesday [25 October], Gerhard Beil, GDR minister for foreign trade, received Robert Guillot-Pingue, chairman of the Belgian-Luxembourg side of the joint commission of the GDR-Belgian-Luxembourg Economic Union, which is to hold its ninth meeting 24-27 October, for friendly talks in East Berlin. In the course of their talk, the two sides emphasized the continual development of economic relations over the past few years.

Ambassador Guillot-Pingue stressed that Belgian and Luxembourg industries are interested in extending relations. Therefore, Belgium intends to send an economic delegation to the GDR in 1989.

Minister Beil said that the GDR Government attaches great importance to the economic cooperation with Belgium and that there have been good contacts with a large number of Belgian enterprises for decades.

Central Committee Concludes Debate on Economy

LD0211215288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] In Budapest the session of the party Central Committee has ended. During the 2-day consultation, members debated the development of the domestic political situation and the party's tasks, as well as the report on the expected development of the national economy this year and the main features of the economic policy over the next 2 years.

The report on the first point on the agenda was presented by Janos Berecz. The Central Committee took a stand on the unsettled questions regarding the domestic political situation. In harmony with the party conference's standpoint and the Central Committee's plans, it determined the main directions of Party activity. The press will provide a briefing on the debate, and a communique will be issued on the Central Committee's decisions.

Following the report by Janos Hoos, the Central Committee debated, in accordance with the resolution taken at its June session this year, the main possible directions of national economic development and the tasks necessary to assure economic resurgence. The Central Committee will make public the standpoint it adopted on the economic situation and the economic-political direction recommended for next year.

Berecz Interviewed on Session's Discussion

LD0211235988 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Interview with Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, by reporter Attilla Balint, in Budapest on 2 November—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The Central Committee session was still going on when Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, met with journalists at a press briefing. You can hear a report on this now:

[Balint] What was there greater discussion about: the assessment of the situation or the determination of tasks?

[Berecz] Immediately after the keynote speech was delivered, a question was asked by one of the Central Committee members: Why is diagnosis again better? Is it because it is more thorough than a determining of tasks? We do not think it is necessary now to approve a separate task plan, as compared to what the Central Committee adopted 1 month after the party conference. However, it is necessary to shorten the deadlines.

We do not have 3-4 years for the introduction of the radical economic reform. We must aim at 1 January 1990. Thus, the wages reform, the reform of the budget, the reform of planning—all these must be jointly worked out and introduced.

The other thing is that we do not have 2-3 years for a scientific analysis of the past period, but it is also necessary to speed this up, and in the coming year it will be necessary to survey the first experiences on the basis of the assessment of the experiences of the past 15 or 30 years. [sentence as heard]

There can be no waiting for a long time for a solution to the role of basic organizations and to the party's organizational issues. It is necessary to decide in a few months how we wish to organize ourselves at workplaces, to remain there and to help in society's most important activity—producing and creating work—and how we want things in the regions, where political life takes place and where the elections will take place, since those who nominate deputies or council members will not be in the plants—they will be in the regions. And it will be necessary for the party to go in there; that is where it will have to politicize, primarily.

There was also much talk of a new consensus.

[Balint] Compared to the September session, was there any more precise stipulation on the relationship with the mentioned new groupings?

[Berecz] Never will we have such an itemized standpoint, which is virtually contained in articles, on relations with the various groupings. The issue here is politics, political processes; in the political processes everyone, the MSZMP as well, is changing, transforming—even its ideology, although we believed that its foundations had been laid once and for all. Because new situations come about, there are new experiences; we can become richer, or sometimes we can become poorer as well, if our way of thinking remains dogmatic.

Truly we are awaiting the law, because until then, it will be very difficult to imagine organizational linkage, organizational cooperation. However, we have now formulated the kinds of principled bases for the objectives for which we call every well-intentioned force into a new consensus. This can have very flexible forms, ranging from cooperation, through dialogue, up to our possibly saying that we do not agree with some kind of grouping, and possibly to political competition being created between us.

However, it was necessary to draw certain political conclusions from our system of decisionmaking, our conduct, our system of guidance. The basic conclusion is that in the past 10-15 years, in the course of developing institutions, we were lax in doing this, which was entirely contrary to the reform. We were pleased that we were on the ascendant, but we did not develop a wide-ranging

constitutional state. Not only did we fail to achieve the building of policy from above, but primarily from below, where party membership should be not only an implementer but a shaper of policy. We did not realize that the basic organization is the most important institution in the party; all of the others have their own functions—to guide, lead, decide—but the leading role of a party cannot be asserted without basic organizations. Such issues were discussed: personnel policy, in which, to a full extent, selection from above was asserted, primarily. We spoke very self-critically on the relationship with the intelligentsia. We admitted that we had used tools which are not worthy of a political party in the handling of the intelligentsia, and we especially dealt with the stirrings that had evolved among the ranks of youth, which want to seek its own path to the future, not together with the party.

[Balint] In the meantime, let us look at the key words which have been noted, such as constitutional statehood, new consensus, and so on. I remember well, the party's Central Committee has already discussed the basic features of the law on association. Since then, in the wake of the standpoints of the various social organizations, it appears that the picture might have changed as regards the role and judgement of the party. Was this issue raised now at the Central Committee session, and if so how? Or is it expected that a political body will discuss it before the law is submitted?

[Berecz] In my opinion, we have to deal with the draft law, to the point of our having to tell the deputies, the party deputies, that they have a free hand, that they can decide in accordance with their own conscience. I cannot say now exactly what we are preparing for, but without doubt we have to glance at it.

Political plurality in the one-party system was raised, but we now have more important matters than that. It will not figure much in the draft standpoint, only that we stay with the decision of the national party conference. It is certain that there was an exchange of opinions on one thing: There is no such thing as introducing the multiparty system. If there is a social demand—because there now is some kind of political demand—it is not yet certain that it will be formed into a party. If there is success in the framework of the one-party system at shaping—as one of the speakers put it, and as is now in fashion—the articulation of interests in a way that satisfies the people, it will not necessarily, in any event, be a multiparty system—if the party wins this. If not, it is conceivable, but it cannot be introduced.

Predicts 'Free Debate'

LD0211232088 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Interview with Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, by Janos Elek on 2 November in Budapest—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Dear viewers, the debate at the Central Committee is going on at the time of our broadcast. The keynote speaker on the first point of the agenda, a report on the domestic political situation, a proposal concerning the party's tasks, was Janos Berecz. Janos Elek has spoken with him.

[Elek] Compared with the newly formed, new kind of openness, which nevertheless has become customary, don't you feel that there has been a retrograde step, that is, the Central Committee has been meeting in session behind closed doors for 2 days? Why?

[Berecz] We could call it a retrograde step if our conduct were to be like this regularly in the future, but we take it entirely seriously that the Central Committee, with the conclusion of its work, will report to the public. What we wanted now was that the Central Committe debate should not be disturbed by any kind of external circumstance. Afterward, just as we have been accustomed to so far, we will give detailed information on the report and on the debate alike.

[Elek] I believe that if it was necessary to plan in advance such an—how should I put it—error-preventing conduct, so that it should not be disturbed by anything from outside, maybe these 2 days were sharper than previously.

[Berecz] The keynote speech was also sharper which, for this reason, was discussed in a good number of parts, of course, because we wanted there to be such a debate and contributions, and they debated among one another, too.

[Elek] I say then that we should turn to the substance of these 2 days. I should like first and foremost to ask: more and more people are saying with increasing frequency that in order for us to be able to plan and then proceed there is a growing need for a critical assessment of the past period. To be completely specific: who and what caused the national economy to enter a crisis? What and who caused us to roll ahead of ourselves the problems that, at least in my opinion, could have been solved earlier at less expense and with less pain? We did not solve them, and now a situation has arisen in which, as you say, the Central Committee has been compelled to go behind closed doors because, to be sure, very sharp voices were expected, or maybe that is how it was, some in favor, some against.

[Berecz] Following the party conference it figured in the task plan adopted by the Central Committee, and we also commissioned the working committee, relying on scientific circles to complete the scientific analysis of the last 30 years. If necessary, they were to go back to 1945 and complete it of these more than 40 years. We now were unable to wait out this 1 and ½ years in order to eliminate from our work certain negative phenomena, faults, and problems.

That is why the Central Committee thus decided at its most recent session, at which it began a discussion of the domestic political situation—only not in full armory—

that we precede it with a political analysis, so that we could draw the conclusions we can now. Obviously, the scientific analysis will raise many other factors in greater depth.

So there was primarily a political analysis. We spoke sincerely and clearly, and it was approved by the Central Committee members. Indeed, I am very pleased that it was quickly understood by the Central Committee members who come from factories, workplaces, and universities, when we said that our domestic political situation has deteriorated even since the party conference. The deterioration occurred after a certain improvement.

Obviously, it is primarily the difficulties arising in living conditions and inflation that irritate the population, but it is understandable if we undertake the exploration of a specific situation, and politically we strive to take appropriate measures to counteract this. However, it is felt that even this has not happened. They consider our activity to be slow. They await more rapid measures on a good number of issues and also a more open adoption of a stance in certain spheres.

Now, what is it that we assume? We assume the 70 years of the party of the Hungarian communists; we assume ourselves these last 40-45 years, too, with the lessons learned from our tardiness, errors, or adherence to a bad political institutional system.

We looked back briefly to 1948, when the program of the unified party would have been suitable for the construction of socialism to develop amid healthy, normal circumstances. But a narrow group in the party leadership used this unified party, in essence, to create its own dictatorial power. We paid a grave price for this later with a national tragedy, with a counterrevolution, a democratic movement.

We assume the government program for the new phase from 1953, the decision then of the central leadership which in part faced errors, but more, which developed a democratic movement, whose main endeavor was the renewal of socialism. This national tragedy, this counterrevolutionary attack in 1956, created a new situation. If we assess it correctly, the new leadership leaned on this democratic movement for support. But from 1958 we gradually forgot about it. Then it was squeezed completely into the background, as if time was measured only from 4 November. Yet here we must discover continuity, too, and show this not just from 1948 but from 1953 too.

Then in the last 10-15 years came a tension which we have not solved. Today it has created a situation in which certain aspects of society are in a crisis. What was that tension? I believe that the party leadership around the mid-sixties realized in time that a reform program was needed. It worked out the economic reform, not for the complete economic policy, I must add, but for the system of economic directing. It launched into this, and then owing to the effect of external necessities—for example, the Hungarian economy lost a great deal as a result of the international price explosion, then, there was little understanding at that time from our friends and elsewhere toward the reform, then new tensions arose too at the beginning of the Seventies—this reform slowed down. What is more, the old order was reinstated.

A significant contribution to this was the fact that the political institution system was by no means suitable for a democratic order of economic management. As a matter of fact, it did not create a democratic public life.

What is it that we now criticize? We criticize the fact that the party policy primarily developed at leadership level and that the membership had no say in this. The membership was primarily the executor. So, not even the membership could transmit the opinion and experiences of the country's population. Also, this went together with a cadre policy whereby the selection and appointment of cadres went from above to below. The consequence of this was that as a matter-of-fact there was no democratic mass supervision over the cadres either. The party was an administrator in the state, it took over many things, and it even intervened directly in directing production, instead of strengthening the political and mood elements surrounding production, and supporting or criticizing the economic leadership.

We said very sharply and forcefully that we made the most mistakes in our policy regarding the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia was thrust into the background and was left out of consideration to such an extent in dealing with cultural and artistic questions in the second half of the Seventies and the beginning of the eighties that we reached the stage where there was a decline. Regarding youth, we knew and said that the young people are forced to approach reality and the construction of socialism in a different way from that of their fathers. But we were not prepared to recognize that these young people think differently, approach the solution of problems differently, and ask for a place not just in the division of hardships but also in decisions, in implementing decisions and in supervision.

Well, there was a very wide-ranging debate on these questions.

[Elek] Let me ask you a question which on the surface concerns semantics, but which is not at all a semantic, but rather a political question. All through you have been saying: We were of this view; here we made this mistake; there we shaped things in that way. So you have been speaking in the first person plural. Does this mean that today's party leadership, and by this I mean the Central Committee and the Politburo in their full entirety, accept these errors, (?since) the May party conference?

[Berecz] It is a difficult and a complex thing to speak about, because first of all I have been a party member since 1951. So, as a party member in any case I had

something to do with it. Then I worked in various kinds of apparatuses: in decisionmaking, because together with Comrade Grosz we entered the Central Committee in 1980—others were not even members of the Central Committee. And all together since 1985, for three of us became Politburo members then, and two in 1987, with Comrade Csehak. That is 5 out of the 11. The others became Politburo members at the party conference. So speaking of the inner solidarity of party members, I use the plural.

But if we take the various decisions one by one and the method of decision-making from the viewpoint that the economic situation was not revealed in its full reality before the Central Committee, not even once with regard to the debt—we have been speaking about the debt only in recent times. We have been saying only since last year what the amount of the debt is and what its consequences are.

[Elek] Excuse me, but I have to interrupt with a question. I too, and I think very many people in Hungary, read with enormous amazement that the party general secretary and prime minister told MAGYAR HIRLAP that he himself does not know precisely the Hungarian debt stock. What does this mean, in fact? Does this mean that a former planning, directing system worked with false figures? Is the situation different from what we believed?

[Berecz] The situation is that the decisions were made at three levels. There was a political decision, in the Politburo or in the Central Committee, an administrative decision in the government, and there was always an expert presentation [feltalalas]. The expert's presentation was taken at face value both by the administration and the Politburo. But from 1984 till 1987 the Politburo received no briefing on the specific debt stock, for example. And then these big investments, which are talked of here—again the decisions about those were not taken on a democratic basis, and economic investments now have to be treated as a political legacy.

[Elek] Even so, allow me to put one more question here. From this it seems a little bit as if these very far-reaching decisions which influence the whole life, the whole economy of the country, were moved or directed from the background by nameless experts. This [words indistinct].

[Berecz] Specificaly this is so in the case of the debt stock, because after all, in the case of Gabcikovo-Nagymaros the calculations for the overwhelming majority were precise, and 10 years ago we did not know so much about the environment and about the need for environmental protection as we did later. In the case of an eocene program, let us say, well, there too, one could in some way trust in the calculations, but it seems not to the full extent, because not all its consequences were revealed. In the case of the debt, the picture was not entirely clear to the leadership or to the government, either.

[Elek] Let me ask you this. Yesterday at the party spokesman's briefing it was also said that for us to get out of our troubles—and as you also listed the troubles in fair numbers, I think we could go on listing these for a long time—in order for us to get out of the troubles, a new kind of national consensus is needed, but it is not a matter of indifference with whom. That was a quotation. I would like to ask two things about this. One is: What is meant by new kind? And the other is: this "it is not a matter of indifference with whom," does this mean—that the Central Committee at its 2-day session was now looking for and found an enemy? That it looked for and found an opponent? Does it delimit itself, putting it quite crudely, from the series of various alternative organizations which are now being formed?

[Berecz] The Central Committee adopts a stance after concluding the debate on the first point of the agenda. This something that we worked out during the session and it is now in the hands of the Central Committee members. Thus, after concluding the debate, the Central Committee will once more have a look at this stance. This contains precisely what we understand by the new consensus.

I would like to say that one of the mainsprings, one of the cohesive factors of the earlier consensus, was economic development—the constant rise in the living standard. Now, on the contrary, we have economic difficulties, we have to get out of a crisis-laden situation, and thus there is a restriction of consumption. However, for this there is a great need for political consensus. Earlier, liberalism was regarded as a link, particularly with the intelligentsia and other circles, when it came to consensus. Now it is political pluralism that we see as playing this role, the system of institutions based on political pluralism.

We want to have contact, dialogue, if possible agreement, or occasional cooperation with every force that wants to help this country and this people in overcoming the problem in the constitutional activity, in the creation of a constitutional state, in the discussion and solution of economic problems, in our search for the right path, and in the development of orientation.

We did not look for enemies. It always has to be specifically decided whether we can cooperate with someone, just as they also decide specifically whether to cooperate with the party.

[Elek] In your opinion, is this the general view within the Central Committee? What I have in mind is that recently one has heard quite a lot about many people, even inside the Central Committee, who do not like it that we are progressing toward pluralism, that we are progresing toward greater tolerance, and who believe that this is quite far enough and, what is more, that we should take a step back.

[Berecz] Let us face the fact that it is easier for a new idea to be born than for new social practice to take place. At the party conference everyone accepted as a new idea that socialist pluralism is needed, that a constitutional state has to be created, that it will be possible to organize not only under our guidance and tutelage, but also from below—by the masses, the intelligentsia, and others who want to formulate their interests, express them, and represent these interests, and who want to sum up their views, to put them forward, publish them, and try to realize them, and submit them to the criticism of practice. This is something we have accepted.

However, when organizations of various hues appear, some angrier, others nicer, some of which say they are willing to cooperate with us, others that wish to avoid us, then the Central Committee—and the party membership as well—is taken a litt!e aback. We have to become used to the new situation, that it is not to say that you say something and then everyone rushes to do it. We have to introduce good decisions; we have to submit them to the criticism of the masses, to the criticism of these organizations as well; we have to reach a new consensus and then we realize it together with everyone who is suitable for this and willing to do it.

[Elek] You also know that in Hungary at the present very much depends on motivation. Am I to understand you as saying that the highest leadership, that is, shall we say, the Politburo, is motivating the Central Committee and the party membership toward going further in this direction, to accept as a necessary concommitant of the present situation that there are critical and ill-tempered opinions....

[Berecz, interrupting] Yes, and there will also be organizations that will not want to fit into the socialist order. We are motivating them to look at reality and to always decide in a specific manner.

[Elek] So it is not true what many people have predicted—by the way, it was a very long time ago that I heard so many rumors in connection with a Central Committee session—that now we will see the great hardening?

[Berecz] No, there can be no question of that. It is impossible to achieve a consensus by way of hardening. Yet without the solidarity and active participation of the overwhelming majority of the country, the problems cannot be solved and our great program cannot be realized.

[Elek] In this respect—I intend this to be my last question—how great is the unity? A number of debates are going on in a rather public manner. What is more, there are rather a lot of reports, even in print, saying that there is no unity even inside the highest party leadership on many issues. Do you consider that these 2 days have moved the party leadership toward unity, or are we, so to speak, still up in the air at the moment?

[Berecz] The Central Committee is concerned with whether there is unity inside the Politburo. The party membership is concerned with whether there is unity inside the Politburo and the Central Committee. First of all, it has to be clarified that there can no longer be monolithic unity in this party. We have become unaccustomed to it, and by now we know that it would be mistaken and wrong. There will not be again a situation of grouping around one person, and that this should be the meaning of unity. Our experiences are also moving us in this direction.

What sort of unity can there be? There should be free debate inside the Central Committee and inside the Politburo as well, and once we reach an agreement it should be kept. One of the Central Committee members formulated this by saying that we should use the word solidarity instead of unity, because unity implies uniformity.

Let me tell you quite frankly that this Politburo surprised me. I expected more differences. But since all its members bear responsibislity for the country's present situation, they are trying harder to find the common view and to unite so as to appear like this in front of the Central Committee. It is this principled stance that the Central Comittee has adopted in regard to solidarity, unity, and internal solidarity inside the party, so that we should be able to handle, or as one of the Central Committee members said, manage, the main issues.

[Elek] A last question, in just one sentence: Have we made progress during the last 2 days?

[Berecz] Yes, we have made progress. I hope that you will be able to conclude this when you read NEPSZABADSAG tomorrow, because we are reporting in considerable detail, with the accustomed degree of detail, and the stance will be available at the end of the week, probably on Friday.

Grosz Delegation Visits Austria

LD0311092688 Budapest MTI in English 0754 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 3 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, left for an official visit to Austria on Thursday at the invitation of Franz Vranitzky, federal chancellor of the Republic of Austria.

Mr Grosz is accompanied by Tamas Beck, Minister of trade, Laszlo Kovacs, deputy foreign Minister, Gyorgy Marosan, spokesman for the government, and Sandor Demjan, president general director of the Hungarian Credit Bank Ltd. Janos Nagy, Hungary's ambassador to the Republic of Austria, is to join the delegation in Vienna.

At Budapest's eastern railway station, Mr Grosz and his entourage were seen off by Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Peter Varkonyi, foreign minister, and Miklos Raft, head of the office of the Council of Ministers. Gerald Kriechbaum, charge d'affairs ad interim of the Budapest Embassy of the Republic of Austria, was also in attendance.

Met by Vranitzky

LD0311092788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Karoly Grosz has arrived in Vienna. He was welcomed at the train station by his host Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky. The official talks between Grosz and Vranitsky will begin at 1100.

Spokesman Defends ROK Ties at Briefing

LD0211163188 Budapest MTI in English 1358 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 2 (MTI)—As reported, Istvan Komoroczki, spokesman of the Foreign Ministry, held a briefing on Wednesday on issues that figure prominently in the development of Hungarian foreign relations. The spokesman recalled that the Government of the Democratic People's Republic [DPR] of Korea forwarded an accusatory letter of reprimanding tone to the Hungarian Government, demanding that the government revoke its decision to establish relations with the Republic of Korea. The central daily of the Korean Workers' Party, the NODONG SINMUN carried a harsh article entitled 'The Betrayal of Socialism'. Deputy Foreign Minister Gabor Nagy presented the reply of the Hungarian Government—in a manner usual to diplomacy—to the Budapest ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The memorandum states that the government's decision to establish permanent representations in Budapest and in Seoul is not aimed against the DPR of Korea, and their demand is unfounded. The ambassador listened to the answer but did not accept the note.

In the following, the permanent representation of the Republic of Korea began its operation in Budapest on October 25. On the basis of this, the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the DPR of Korea again criticized, in a lengthy statement of an unacceptable content and tone, the building of relations by the Hungarian People's Republic and the Republic of Korea. According to their wording, Hungary "extends its hands to the South Korean puppets and invites them to dance," which "creates an abnormal situation" between Budapest and Pyongyang. The statement calls on the Hungarian authorities for immediately settlement of the situation. [sentence as received]

Mr Komoroczki said "Our aim is not to continue this battle of words, but it should be noted that we continue to consider as valid what was set down in the Hungarian reply memorandum": "The Hungarian Government expects, and sincerely hopes that the leadership of the DPR and Korea will attest due consideration, restraint and wisdom in the evaluation of the Hungarian step and standpoint, and in creating its own opinion, in the interest of safeguarding the good relation between the two countries, and further developing bilateral relations in a many-sided way that accords to the genuine interests of the two peoples." We sincerely hope that the leadership of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will not make this aim beyond our reach, added the spokesman.

With respect to the acceptance by Hungary of Article 41 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of the U.N. Committee of Human Rights and the facultative protocol, the spokesman of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry said: We declare that respect of the individual and collective human rights within national frameworks cannot be considered the internal affair of one country, but is an important precondition of harmonious and undisturbed relations between the states. Hungary approved Article 41 of the covenant, and simultaneously joined the facultative protocol of the document. The relevant document was entrusted to the U.N. secretary-general on September 7. The spokesman added that in the future, Hungary wishes to participate in the international endeavours to realize the norms that regulate human rights issues, and the controlling of their implementation, as an equal partner. The spokesman announced that Janos Fodor, deputy head of the Legal Department of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, has been elected a member of the Human Rights Committee.

Answering questions, Mr Komoroczki said that 63 countries maintain diplomatic relations with both Koreas. He noted that the Budapest Embassy of the DPR of Korea has not reported whether the ambassador has left Hungary, and there is no mention of a break in the relation of the two friendly countries. Hungary will continue to strive to foster good relations with friendly DPR of Korea, with acceptance of the Hungarian position and the maintainance of cooperation.

In connection with Hungary's joining the covenant, he stressed that Hungarian diplomacy did not hold consultations with other socialist countries, but—in the spirit of the new foreign political way of thinking—a step of this type is not alien to the Soviet Union and other friendly socialist countries.

With respect to the development of the Hungarian-Romanian relation and the fate of the Romanian citizens staying in Hungary's Embassy in Sofia, he said: At the recent Budapest session of the Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers, Peter Varkonyi held talks with the Bulgarian and the Romanian foreign ministers. The spokesman declined to give details on the talks. However, he added that it seems that progress has been made in this issue.

In conclusion, Mr Komoroczki reconfirmed reports that Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP [MSZMP], will visit France and Spain in mid-November.

Thatcher Begins Official Visit 2 November

Welcomed by Rakowski

LD0211223988 Warsaw PAP in English 2140 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 2—Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland Margaret Thatcher arrived in Warsaw Wednesday [2 November] for an official visit at the invitation from Chairman of the Council of Ministers Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

This is the first visit to Poland by a British prime minister. It is worth mentioning that last year the British prime minister went to the USSR and earlier she had visited Hungary and China. Thus, this is not her first visit to a socialist country.

A special RAF VC-10 plane landed at Warsaw airport at 17:20. A moment later, Mrs Thatcher appeared in the door of the airliner. She was welcomed by Prime Minister Rakowski. The ceremony was observed and recorded by numerous Polish and British newsmen. Margaret Thatcher was wearing a beige coat with a fur collar and a fur hat and she was carrying a brown handbag.

Having exchanged first words with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Margaret Thatcher was welcomed by Ministers Michal Janiszewski, Tadeusz Olechowski and Jerzy Urban.

In tune with protocol envisaged for such occasions, an orchestra played the national anthems of the two countries. Reviewing the guard of honour, Mrs Thatcher greeted the soldiers with the Polish "Czolem Zolnierze" ["Hail Soldiers"]. Next she greeted employees of the British Embassy in Poland. Present were Poland's Ambassador to Great Britain Zbigniew Gertych and British Ambassador to Poland Stephen J. Barrett as well as dean of the diplomatic corps here Morocco's Ambassador Abdesselam Ouazzani.

At the airport, Margaret Thatcher told newsmen that she was very happy to arrive in Poland and that she was aware of the significance of this occasion. She said that Poland was something special for Great Britain and that is why she was looking forward to the program here.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski added that this was the first visit to Poland by a British prime minister. He said he was convinced that to exchange views, to present Poland's situation, to listen to Premier Thatcher's opinions on affairs of Europe and her own country would be something very favourable for the two sides. I am looking forward to these talks, he said.

Shortly after the arrival, Margaret Thatcher met with Prime Minister Rakowski with whom she held a preliminary talk. Then she talked for 40 minutes with Poland's Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp at his Warsaw's seat.

On Thursday, the British prime minister is expected to hold other meetings and talks.

To Meet Walesa 4 Nov

LD0211201188 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1926 GMT 2 Nov 88

[By Chris Moncrieff, PRESS ASSOCIATION chief political correspondent, in Warsaw]

[Excerpts] Mrs Thatcher flew into an icy Warsaw tonight at the start of her historic visit to Poland and told the Poles their country "is special and always has been". Her arrival comes as the Polish Government is locked in angry confrontation with the banned trade union movement Solidarity over the proposed "progressive liquidation" of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. British sources have insisted that Mrs Thatcher has absolutely no intention of entering into any controversy, even though on Friday she will meet Mr Lech Walesa, the Solidarity leader at the shipyard, the symbolic birthplace of his movement.

The prime minister arrives in Poland at a critical time.

The head of state, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, said on BBC radio today: "I hope Mrs Thatcher will allow us to tackle our own problems in a sovereign way, using our own methods and instruments." This was a deliberate invitation to her not to get involved in the row which nevertheless will overshadow her visit.

Even so, the greeting she received from the new Polish prime minister, Mr Mieczyslaw Rakowski, when she reached Warsaw airport after the 2-1/2-hour flight from London, was as warm as the weather was bitter. They chatted cheerfully and stood side-by-side in the biting winds as a military band played the two national anthems. [passage omitted]

British sources were saying that any suggestion by Polish authorities, however veiled, that Mrs Thatcher might interfere in domestic Polish affairs, was totally unfounded. They insist that she has no intention of doing so, even though the closure of the dockyard, due to start from December 1, must be top of the agenda during her talks with Mr Walesa. [passage omitted]

The Polish Government fears that the 11.000 shipyard workers may exploit the presence of massive media coverage surrounding Mrs Thatcher on Friday to stage a protest demonstration in front of a world-wide audience.

Mr Rakowski has often publicly expressed his admiration for Mrs Thatcher and has more than once said that he would like to be able to emulate her leadership qualities.

After her first round of talks with him, Mrs Thatcher, now wearing a two-piece brown and black chequered suit, arrived at the residence of Cardinal Glemp, the

Roman Catholic primate of Poland. There, beneath portraits of his predecessors, including the pope, the cardinal told Mrs Thatcher how his residence was destroyed during the war but was impeccably restored. It was then that Mrs Thatcher told the cardinal: "Poland is special and always has been." [passage omitted]

Mrs Thatcher will have a series of talks both with Mr Rakowski and Gen Jaruzelski. But the Polish Government will step to one side when she meets Mr Walesa and his Solidarity colleagues. Polish officials say that this is a "private" part of her visit and they are distancing themselves from it. One said the situation in Gdansk could be tense but he added that he hoped and believed that Mrs Thatcher's visit would not be marred by angry scenes. Nevertheless, the Polish Government is a trifle nervous that Mrs Thatcher has chosen to meet Mr Walesa.

She will do everything she can to avoid being "exploited" in what is building up as a major confrontation over the shipyard closure between the Warsaw government and Solidarity.

Mrs Thatcher will also meet groups of "independents", academics who do not necessarily toe the party line. Polish authorities are also distancing themselves from these meetings. [passage omitted]

British sources have said that there is no intention of changing Mrs Thatcher's itinerary in the light of political developments in Poland. [passage omitted]

'Friendly' Talks With Rakowski

LD0211224288 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 2204 GMT 2 Nov 88

[By Chris Moncrieff, PRESS ASSOCIATION chief political correspondent]

[Excerpts] Mrs Thatcher arrived in Warsaw tonight with a warning from the Polish Government not to interfere in Poland's domestic affairs ringing in her ears. The stern message was delivered by Polish President Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski as Mrs Thatcher prepared for her historic visit to Poland—the first ever by a British prime minister. [passage omitted]

British sources in Warsaw were tonight stressing that Mrs Thatcher had no intention of interfering in Polish affairs. But she is also not likely to be deterred from speaking her mind during her three days in Poland.

Mrs Thatcher arrived in an icy Warsaw tonight—and immediately got down to talks with the new prime minister, Mr Mieczysoaw Rakowski. He told her that despite Mr Walesa's bitterness over the shipyard closure the decision was a cost-cutting exercise and was not hostile to or directed at Solidarity. He vowed that no-one would lose their jobs then joked: "It is odd to have a Marxist closing down Lenin."

Mr Rakowski said, during what were described as friendly discussions, that he was anxious to get on with reforming Poland's economy and saw a need for hundreds of businesses and small enterprises.

Mrs Thatcher told him he was embarking on a most difficult path of moving from a central economy to enterprise and initiative. She said that she had had to do something like this in a small way in 1979, when she came to power. "The problem was that difficulties always come first before the successes—you have to persevere," she said.

Mrs Thatcher later met Cardinal Glemp, leader of Poland's Roman Catholic community. She told him that she was concerned to encourage those who were treading the path to freedom—while at the same time not wishing to interfere in Poland's internal affairs.

Later she met a group of six so-called "independents"—academics who do not necessarily toe the party line—and told them she strongly believed in the power of peaceful internal movement having an effect on "processes within the country".

But her visit is being overshadowed by the closure of the shipyard, which is due to start from December 1. Mr Walesa has already accused the Polish Government of "trickery" in deciding to close the yard and said that he and his Solidarity colleagues could run it at a profit.

Despite her vow not to interfere, Mrs Thatcher will find it difficult not to become involved in the confrontation between Solidarity and the Polish Government.

Czyrek Leaves for Talks in Austria

LD0211181388 Warsaw PAP in English 1739 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 2—Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek left this afternoon for talks in Vienna.

The programme provides among other things for talks with Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, with Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Alois Mock and Chairman of the Austrian Parliament Leopold Gratz.

Urban Says Roundtable Meeting Sought 'Quickly'

LD0211154888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] At 1500 Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban made the following statement:

[Begin Urban recording] Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has authorized me to state that we confirm the desire to bring about a meeting of the roundtable as quickly as possible. We propose that it take place in the next few days. We want to speak about all matters, without exception, that will be brought

up by the participants, and especially about means to improve the economic situation in Poland, to accelerate the reforms, to improve living conditions, reform public institutions, and further the growth of civic freedom. It is also appropriate to discuss the Polish model of the trade union movement, taking into account the values of all the currents of the trade union movement in the 1980's. The prime minister has authorized General Czeslaw Kiszczak to turn to Lech Walesa for the joint overcoming of preparatory difficulties before the roundtable. [end recording]

That was the statement by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban.

Reaction Continues to Lenin Shipyard Closure

Workers Hold Rally

LD0211175288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1636 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, November 2 (TANJUG)—According to information from Gdansk, around 10,000 workers of the Lenin Shipyard held a rally this morning over the government's decision to close it down.

The workers decided not to go on strike but to try to find ways to make the management of the affairs of the enterprise more economic and save it by joint efforts of the management, workers' council, official trade unions and the banned trade union Solidarity.

President of the trade union Solidarity President Lech Walesa and head of Solidarity in the Lenin Shipyard Alojzy Szablewski spoke at the rally.

Walesa said he would immediately begin working as an electrician at the shipyard although he is on sick leave.

It is yet not known how the management of the Lenin Shipyard intends to fight against the government's decree.

Walesa Speaks at News Conference

LD0311091488 Warsaw PAP in English 0041 GMT 3 Nov 88

["Gdansk After Decision on Shipyard Closure"—PAP headline]

[Text] Gdansk, Nov. 2—The decision on the liquidation of the Gdansk shipyard created an understandable commotion both in the yard itself as well as the whole tri-city conglomeration.

Part of society regarded the decision as correct while others think it too hasty. This opinion is shared by the majority of the shipyard's crew which was expressed in statements made during a rally held on Wednesday morning inside the yard.

After the rally Lech Walesa, during a press conference for foreign journalists, strongly opposed the government decision claiming that his opinion was convergent with that of the trade union of Gdansk shipyard employees and that together they would fight to save the shipyard.

Also today several meetings took place here with representatives of interested milieux, including representatives of the Federation of Trade Unions of the Shipbuilding Industry. Deputy Minister of Industry Zdzislaw Miedziarek, who took part in the meetings, presented the motives and circumstances of the decision.

In the discussion which ensued the trade unionists did not question the justifiablity of the decision but raised issues connected with the future employment of the yard's personnel.

According to Minister Miedziarek's and the Gdansk Voivode Leon Brancewicz's assurances, there will be no greater problems with this. An information desk is already functioning in the yard which collects offers of employment for the shipyard workers. On the first day 1.6 thousand such offers were submitted, including 500 from foreign enterprises. It is possible that "demand" may significantly outscale "supply." However, it would be most purposeful for the employees to take up work in other shipyards in the tri-city, especially in the Komuna Paryska Shipyard in Gdynia which has the biggest staff shortage.

Redirection of Resources Planned

LD0311092188 Warsaw PAP in English 0045 GMT 3 Nov 88

["Programme of Liquidation of Gdansk Shipyard"—PAP headline]

[Text] Gdansk, Nov. 2—In accordance with Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski's decision the Gdansk shipyard will formally cease to exist as of December 1st, 1988, and the gradual process of its liquidation is now beginning. As of this moment the Lenin shipyard has stopped undertaking new construction projects whereas those which are already underway will be completed. It is envisaged that the process of the shipyard's phase-out will last about 18 months and possibly longer. During this time all the construction projects currently underway will be finished while the remaining, valid contracts will be taken over by other shipyards.

No-one of the shipyard's over 10,000 strong workforce will be made redundant. Already six various enterprises have filed a demand for 1,100 people while foreign companies want to hire another 500 workers.

The materials and equipment from the Gdansk shipyard will strengthen other shipyards and will enable the fuller utilization of their production capabilities thus improving their economic effectiveness. Moreover, this does not

necessarily rule out that the overall output of the shipbuilding industry will fall. The dry docks of the Gdynia-based "Komuna Paryska" Shipyard, the most modern Polish shipyard, are capable of doubling their present output of hulls. The needs of the Gdynia yard will receive priority treatment.

As far as the production capital of the Gdansk shipyard is concerned it is envisaged that part of it will be taken over by its neighbour—the northern shipyard and the Gdansk ship repair yard.

Part of the Lenin shipyard's production potential, under different organization, will continue to work for the shipbuiding industry and possibly in the production of environmental protection equipment.

Hopes are being expressed that in this latter field a new Polish speciality may develop on an international scale.

OPZZ Discusses Implications

LD0211185588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] The Secretariat of the OPZZ Executive Committee received a report from Industry Minister Mieczyslaw Wilczek, and Jerzy (?Fewer), who is directing the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, relating to the economic conditions associated with the government decision to liquidate the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard.

The intentions and guarantees that are to safeguard the interests of the work force of this enterprise were studied. However, it was stressed that above all, activities that might improve the results of the running of every enterprise must be carried out. The liquidation of every work enterprise, it was stated, also signifies the end of the function of the trade union organization at that workplace. The trade union movement has thus found itself in a new, complicated situation. Against this background there arises the urgent need to create a system of safeguarding the lifetime and professional interests of people in enterprises liquidated or reorganised in the future. A draft of this system should be presented at a joint meeting of the government this month.

Regional Press on Decision

LD0211202688 Warsaw PAP in English 1900 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 2—In an editorial on the liquidation of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, the "GLOS WYBRZEZA" writes in part:

"The liquidation of the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk is the anticipated effect of a juxtaposition of its economic condition with the determination to reform the Polish economy announced by the cabinet of Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

"We have pointed to the terrible state of our biggest shipyards many a time. At that time there still was a real opportunity of carrying out not a slogan-like but actual restructuring of these enterprises into more efficient ones. Unfortunately at that time the managers lacked either the willingness or simply possibility to decide to take steps, which were admittedly drastic (if one could call cutting down the monstrously developed administration in this way) but ones which would allow the shipyards to do away with the role of debtor owing the state budget billions of zloties.

"It seems that it was easier to reach for new credits and demand special treatment.

"Those who see the liquidation decision of October 29 this year as only politically-motivated (punishment for strikes) forget about the contents of the Sejm expose delivered by Mieczyslaw Rakowski following his appointment as premier. It contained a clear and unequivocal declaration of taking firm action to heal the Polish economy. This also includes the liquidation of inefficient enterprises kept alive by injections in the form of resources from the state budget. Why, these resources are worked out by all of society and should be used to satisfy more general needs than the interest of one plant. We must be aware of this fact if we do not want to witness the formation of more government teams and announcements of yet more stages of reform, interrupted and time to time by 'street stages'."

The "DZIENNIK BALTYCKI" daily writes on the same subject, stating in part:

"It is with sorrow that we write these words: liquidation of the Gdansk shipyard. This is because it has grown into the economic-social landscape and the history of Gdansk. But there is no room for sentiments in the economy. Especially when a game is being played in which only optimal solutions based on cost-and-effect and profits-and-loses are to prevail. One cannot say that what befell the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk came as a surprise. This is because dark clouds have been gathering for a long time: ever since June 1983 when the law on enterprise bankruptcy was passed. Why, the Gdansk shipyard has been faced with a financial ultimatum not since yesterday.

"The time has come when the centre said no! This means that the program of internal changes tabled to the ministry turned out to be unconvincing.

"It is hard to take issue with the thesis of the chairman of the Council of Ministers that rules of the economic game should fully operate in the reformed economy.

"Outlining his program, the premier also asked whether we were ready to accept the consequences of consistent action. And he did not hear a 'no.'

"As far as we know, an implied political meaning was quickly attached to the decision of an economic character. Implied meaning coming from opposition sources recalling the 'Solidarnosc'-provenance of the shipyard.

"I think that if reasons other than material were to be considered, one could reach deeper and farther. One should also recall the time when for decades the economic might of the country was symbolized by the burning chimneys of Silesia just as the maritime character of Poland by moving port cranes and ships being launched.

"But in this respect we are entering the sphere of sentiments for which—as we have said—there is no room in the conditions of free economic play.

"Therefore, things must develop according to what Minister Wilczek announced before the Sejm industry committee: 'It is necessary to support the best enterprises and very clearly at that, and on the other hand 'shoot' the weakest so as to spare them suffering.'

"Progress calls for sacrifice. The standard-bearing plant of the Gdansk coast is to be the first victim on the altar of consistently implemented reform and economic restructuring."

OPZZ's Sosnowski on Roundtable, Trade Unions

AU2710150288 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Oct 88 p 4

[Interview with OPZZ Deputy Chairman Romuald Sosnowski by unidentified PAP correspondent: "One of the Trade Union Movement's Basic Concerns Is the Interests of Workers, and Hence the Firm's Condition"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Correspondent] Issues related to the forthcoming "roundtable" were the subject of the recent OPZZ Executive Committee meeting. The committee underlined the responsibility of the trade union delegation at the "roundtable" to present the views and expectations of the 7 million trade unionists in Poland. Could you tell us the main points of the OPZZ representative's speech, which the Executive Committee approved?

[Sosnowski] Ever since the emergence of the reborn trade union movement, we have considered preserving and improving society's standard of living as the most important matter. Therefore, the point is to establish effective ways of satisfying not only working people's basic needs, but also their hopes. The number one topic today is the condition of the economy and the possibility of reforming outdated economic structures. When the lives of our citizens finally become normal, or even whether they become normal, depends on the condition of the economy. Another aim is that everyone should receive proper wages for proper work. The market, still in a state of depression, also needs to be improved.

At the "roundtable," we will decide which matters should be given priority. It is high time we stopped saying that we are lagging far behind the rest of Europe. As a country, we have to start moving ahead at last. We must say clearly that we agree with the list of priorities, matters requiring urgent solution, presented by Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski in his Sejm speech. Of course it is possible that our views on how to attain objectives will be different. The trade unions must retain their identity.

[Correspondent] In the OPZZ Executive Committee communique, you said that you were worried about attempts by adventurist forces to join the "roundtable."

[Sosnowski] We are worried about the reasons why these important talks have been postponed. We know what these reasons are and realize that they are complex. Nevertheless, we are disturbed by the fact that milieus that have nothing to do with working people and their problems are trying to join the "roundtable." We are also disturbed by the activity that is taking place just before the start of the talks. This activity is disrupting the most important accompaniment to these delicate talks—social calm. I do not know who stands to profit from confrontation and from the propagation of views on the subject of the changes taking place in Poland.

However, one thing is certain. Working people have not forgotten the past. That is why all these attempts to cause unrest are viewed with concern. This is not encouraging a suitable climate for the "roundtable." What is particularly disturbing is that those behind this activity are even dragging young people—not even young people, but children—into the streets.

[Correspondent] What is the attitude of the reborn trade union movement, represented by the OPZZ, to trade union pluralism? What do you think of the 1982 Trade Union Act today? Would you like to see any part of it amended?

[Sosnowski] Our trade unions emerged at the grassroots level, in the factories. Thus, every single trade union at national level was formed in accordance with the wishes of the masses. Please realize that the OPZZ is not a trade union authority, it is merely a representative of the trade unions vis-a-vis the central authorities. The problem is not how many trade unions there are, but how effective they are.

Today there are over 27,000 factory trade unions and 135 national trade union federations. No factory union is obliged to associate itself in a national federation. There are about 4,000 factory unions that do not belong to any federation and are therefore not represented by the OPZZ.

Each factory union has its own individual program that was adopted by its members. As a result, there are major differences between programs. Our experience tells us

that there are huge differences in views within practically every single trade union. There are also clashes of opinion at meetings of the OPZZ Council and of voivodship OPZZ committees.

In this context, it is worth stressing that the great majority of trade unionists used to belong to "Solidarity," and today they are to be found in every trade union structure, including the federations and OPZZ. We have never asked anyone what union he belonged to before. A desire to work for the good of the people was the only criterion.

That is why I do not consider organizational pluralism—and that is what the entire debate boils down to—to be the most urgent matter right now. What surprises us is that this topic is most strongly supported by milieus that have nothing to do with the trade union movement. The nucleus of the debate is the future of trade unions, not the objectives of trade union activity. Personally, I would encourage non-trade unionists to tell us, for example, that our program, laid down by the congress, is bad and needs to be changed.

We believe that a split of the trade union movement inside factories will divide the work forces. There is no need to go back to the events of 1980-1981; after all, this year's strikes led to a situation where workers in the same factory ignored each other in the streets.

However, I think we may and should discuss ways of improving the Polish trade union movement without excessive emotion. For this purpose, we can avail ourselves of good foreign experience. But we must not imitate it blindly.

Experts from the ILO and United Nations are of the opinion that the Trade Union Act is good. All we should do is use it correctly. However, we consider it necessary to amend the section dealing with collective disputes. This section has quite simply not passed its test. Endless disputes and negotiations merely make workers impatient and bitter, and then we wonder why strikes break out. After a strike has broken out, someone wonders whether it is legal or not. The period of negotiations between workers and their employer should be curtailed to a minimum—1 week, or 2 weeks at the most.

[Correspondent] Do you still subscribe to the principle of one union in one workplace?

[Sosnowski] All trade union structures have supported the OPZZ Council resolution on this matter. One should not only take into account the opinion of 7 million trade unionists, but also represent it competently. We must convince those who hold other views. I think we possess sufficiently strong arguments. We will employ them at the "roundtable."

Of course, the profile and program of each trade union must suit the majority of the work force. One should ask nonassociated trade unionists more frequently than before what they think of the trade union movement and what changes they would make to the action programs. We must not forget that the Trade Union Act provides that a factory trade union represents the entire work force, not just the trade unionists themselves.

Our experience teaches us that if there are several unions in one factory, this always leads to an escalation of demands, and that the only purpose of this is to prove to one's members that one is more militant and a better defender of the workers interests. Yet even in highly developed countries, one of the basic concerns of the trade union movement is the condition of the firm. If a factory goes bankrupt, there will be no trade union, and the workers will find themselves out on the sidewalk.

The present trade union movement model was molded by working people, by those who wanted to have influence over its appearance, structure, and representation; by those who had the courage to influence it. But we do not claim that the trade unions are the way they should be. That is why we are open to all suggestions on ways to improve our work. However, we cannot let factories be turned into political battlegrounds. The task of enterprises is to produce for the needs of the market and working people. The trade unions are not a political party, and do not want to be one. Neither can they be a mouthpiece of a political party. That is how we interpret the independence of the trade union movement.

[Correspondent] How would you comment on the fact that trade union ranks have not been increasing lately, and that the number of trade unionists is stuck at the 7 million mark?

[Sosnowski] I do not think there will ever again be a situation in Poland where every worker or almost every worker belongs to a trade union. I would not turn this into a major problem. We know about many trade unions in various countries with fewer members, and even ones where the number of members has been falling for years. That is the situation in France, the United States, and many other developed Western countries. In Great Britain, however, the conservative government is simply destroying the trade union movement systematically.

In Poland, the basic problem is not the size of the trade union movement, but the quality of its work. Today there is less need for declarations, and more for concrete work. This could lead to an expansion of the trade union movement in the future.

Ceausescu Conveys Harvest Day Message

AU0211145288 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Oct 88 p 1

["Message Sent by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to Cooperative Farmers, Workers in State Agricultural Units, Mechanizers and Specialists, and to All Working People in Agriculture on Harvest Day"]

[Text] Dear comrades: On the traditional Harvest Day I want to extend, on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and government, as well as myself, warm revolutionary greetings to all working people in villages, agricultural production cooperative members, workers in state agricultural enterprises, mechanizers, specialists, and all peasantry, together with wishes for fresh and ever greater successes in the process of increasing the vegetable and animal agricultural output and in implementing the new agrarian revolution in Romania.

Harvest Day marks an important event within the framework of the activity carried out by all our people to implement the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and National Conference aimed at achieving all our country's socioeconomic development programs in the current 5-year plan, increasing the contribution of agriculture to our homeland's progress in general, and constantly improving the general level of civilization and well-being of all our people.

Although weather conditions have not been favorable this year either, the working people in agriculture have achieved larger outputs with regard to both summer grains and fall crops. This guarantees appropriate supplies of agricultural produce for our people and meets other requirements of the national economy.

It is gratifying that this year more than 700 state and cooperative agricultural units have achieved outputs in excess of 5,000 kg of wheat per hectare, while some 50 of them have exceeded 8,000 kg per hectare. Good corn crops have been achieved by some counties and several units, including joint agro-industrial councils. On irrigated plots these units have achieved 20,000 kg of corn cobs per hectare.

Similarly, good results have been achieved with barley, sugar beet, vegetables, and fruits, and in the animal breeding sector.

The achievements attained by state and cooperative agricultural units this year once again vigorously demonstrate the superiority of our socialist agriculture and the capability of farmers and of all working people in agriculture to reap larger and larger crops with every passing year and increased outputs in all sectors of this basic branch of the national economy.

On Harvest Day, I want to extend warmest congratulations to cooperative farmers, agricultural workers, mechanizers and specialists, to all field workers, and all the peasantry for all these achievements. I also want to call on them to do all they can to achieve even larger outputs in the coming years in keeping with the conditions created for agriculture by our party and socialist state, with the requirements of the national economy, and with the great requirements of the new agrarian revolution!

Important achievements have also been attained in industry and the other branches of the national economy in implementing the programs for intensive development of the production process and in making better use of our country's raw and other material resources. I want to take this opportunity to also extend warm congratulations to the working people in industry, construction, transportation, scientific research, education, and the other areas, and I want to call on them to constantly work to implement this year's plan provisions and those of the overall 5-year plan, and to do all they can to commendably implement the targets aimed at the intensive development and modernization of the entire economy, to vigorously increase labor productivity, improve the qualitative and technical standard of products, and to ensure the broad progress of the new scientific-technical revolution in our country.

Assessing the results in agriculture in 1988, we must say that they could have been even better if each county and agricultural unit had worked in accordance with the requirements of agricultural science, and if everyone had worked in a spirit of complete order and discipline and maximum responsibility to complete operations on schedule and with good quality—beginning with sowing operations, up to harvesting and storing crops. The analysis of the results achieved this year demonstrates that where crop plan provisions were strictly observed and where the material base was used effectively and planned, and where technological norms were strictly applied, large outputs were achieved, even under less favorable weather conditions.

For agricultural bodies and all agricultural working people, Harvest Day should be an opportunity to examine this year's work with maximum responsibility and in a critical and self-critical spirit and to draw all the necessary conclusions, from both good experience and shortfalls and failings, and to take all measures needed to improve all activities and to commendably prepare for next year's crop.

Harvest Day must lead to intensified activity and to a broad mobilization of all forces in villages to complete the harvesting of fall crops in all counties and agricultural units. Everything must be reaped from the fields, transported, and stored under the best of conditions! Nothing of this year's crops should be wasted!

Similarly, all necessary measures must be taken to deliver all planned agricultural produce to the state stocks—this constitutes a basic condition for implementing the program to ensure supplies of agricultural produce and foodstuffs for our people, to secure the

amounts of fodder needed by animals during the winter, and to appropriately meet the agricultural raw materials requirements of industry and meet other needs of the national economy.

At the same time, we must thoroughly examine the completion and quality of sowing operations, the way crops are growing, and must take all necessary measures to continue to ensure the proper tending of all lands sown with crops.

Along with the speedy completion of harvesting fall crops, priority must be given to carrying out all preparatory operations for next year's crops in a commendable way. At this point, we must focus on completing fall plowing—by 20 November at the latest—by respecting the provisions on performing these operations with a chisel plow at the depth specified by agrotechnical norms, and we must complete scarification operations. All necessary measures must be taken to carry out deep plowing of good quality and on schedule, because—as experience has taught us—this is a decisive condition for achieving large crops next year!

At the same time, appropriate preparations for the next crop make it necessary at this time to decide on where to grow spring crops and manage plots of land appropriately and in keeping with the specific features of each crop, so that by March sowing operations can be started under the best of conditions.

A decisive condition for achieving better crops is to make sure that all operations involving the proper functioning of the irrigation system next year are carried out as soon as possible. For this purpose, each county must urgently work out special programs for units to make all irrigation systems completely operational by March at the latest, and to carry out new irrigation operations by strictly applying planned norms and rigorously respecting the system of organizing farms, lands, and fields to make maximum use of each plot of land. By no means should we tolerate irrigation operations that deprive agriculture of important areas of land! All necessary conditions must be prepared on time so that all irrigated lands may be used with maximum efficiency in order to reap 25-30 tonnes of corn ears per hectare from them.

Along with land improvement work and preparations for irrigation operations, all necessary measures must be taken to ensure the proper functioning of the drainage system, the clearing and deepening of ditches, and the elimination of water stagnation so that each square meter of land yields large crops.

In animal breeding, priority attention should be paid to the proper management of the fodder base. By 10 November at the latest, we must harvest everything in the field to the last stack of straw and corn stalk in order to ensure the necessary fodder for our animals in the winter. Appropriate measures have to be taken to constantly increase our livestock, to achieve the planned production of meat, milk, eggs, and wool, and to guarantee these products for the state stocks and self-sufficiency stocks.

Winter should be a period of intensive activity in all sectors of agriculture, a time when we should thoroughly prepare all necessary conditions to obtain increasingly higher agricultural, vegetable, and animal products next year. Likewise, we should make the utmost use of the winter period to ensure a better organization of work in every unit and an improved economic and financial activity of cooperatives and state agricultural enterprises, and to ensure an increased efficiency of their entire activity. We should take action in order to expand and increase the role of socialist state and cooperative ownership in all fields of agriculture and in order to increase agricultural production and the income of our peasantry!

We should increase the responsibility of county party committees and party bodies and organizations in agricultural units and in villages in order to ensure a better organization and management of the agricultural activity and to mobilize all experts and all working people in fulfilling the tasks incumbent on them in this basic branch of our national economy.

Party bodies and organizations, communists, and all inhabitants in villages should understand that to work in the field of agriculture in accordance with the April theses means to show maximum exigency and a revolutionary spirit in all their activities with the aim of fulfilling the plan provisions and of showing a sense of great responsibility for the management of the land—the most precious national wealth of our whole nation—for achieving the required agricultural production, and for properly preserving and using the agricultural yields. Likewise, we should ensure a strict observance of the party decisions and the laws of our country regarding the entire agricultural activity, and we should introduce a high spirit of responsibility, order, and discipline in every sector. The agrarian revolution—just like the scientific-technical revolution in general—can be achieved only with people who have a new revolutionary concept; a thorough professional, political, and cultural training; and with people who are determined to do everything in their power to unflinchingly fulfill the objectives established by our party and state in the field of agriculture.

We must never forget that the fulfillment of our plans and programs of developing industry, agriculture, and the whole national economy, and, on this basis, raising the material and cultural well-being of our whole nation can be achieved only under conditions of peace and broad international cooperation. Therefore, our party and state, while giving priority to ensuring all necessary conditions to successfully carry out the entire work of socialist construction on the soil of our homeland, firmly promotes a policy of peace and cooperation with all the

nations of the world, and actively participates in and makes a constructive contribution to finding solutions to the great and complex problems that confront mankind and toward building a better and more just world on our planet.

Harvest Day should be an opportunity to show the will and determination of our entire peasantry to most firmly work together with our whole nation to unflinchingly implement the policy of our party, to ensure the socio-economic development of our country, to continuously improve the material and cultural level of our whole nation, and to promote Socialist Romania's policy of peace and cooperation.

Let us do all we can and work with devotion and responsibility. Let us see to it that next year we achieve the greatest agricultural output in the history of our country, in honor of the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation and in honor of the 14th RCP Congress!

By appropriately carrying out our work we should ensure the exemplary fulfillment of the plans and programs for the socioeconomic development of our country, and we should raise our socialist homeland to the highest peaks of progress and civilization!

On the occasion of Harvest Day, I extend wishes to our whole people for new successes in fulfilling the tasks of the plan for this year and for the whole 5-year plan period and in implementing the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and of the Party National Conference, as well as the program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania and ensuring our country's progress toward communism!

I extend wishes for much health and happiness to all our agricultural workers and to our whole nation.

Nicolae Ceausescu

Ceausescu Meets Former Swiss President

AU0111190288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1824 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 1/11/1988—Tuesday, November the first, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received Pierre Aubert, former president of the Swiss Confederation.

The guest thanked warmly for the hospitality he enjoyed in Romania, for the chance to meet and exchange opinions with Romania's president. At the same time he appreciated most highly the achievements of the Romanian people in point of the country's economic and social development.

During the interview the sides pointed out the good relations between Romania and Switzerland, which witness continuous development in the political, economic, scientific, cultural and other spheres of activity. The sides considered that a still stronger future intensification of the bilateral collaboration meets the interests of both countries and peoples, of the cause of peace, understanding and cooperation in Europe and in the world.

Approached were some questions of the world political life, particularly those regarding the European continent. In this framework, they pointed out the need to strengthen confidence and the collaboration among the states in the continent for building a united Europe with different social systems, a Europe of peace and collaboration.

Vice Premier Oprea Receives Damascus Governor

AU0211204388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 2/11/1988—Wednesday afternoon, Romanian First Deputy Prime Minister Gheorghe Oprea received Abu Amin al-Shabad, governor of Damascus, now visiting Romania invited by the People's Council of Bucharest Municipality.

Pointing out the good relations established between Romania and Syria, during the interview the sides approached, according to the understandings agreed upon during the Romanian-Syrian summits, prospects of development of the collaboration between the two countries.

LCY Presidium Views Economic, Political Issues

AU0111171588 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Dusanka Radmilovic report]

[Text] The reform of the economic system, earmarked as the first condition for a change in the situation in the country, will be the first and most important question on which the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium will be tested concerning changes in the method of their work and activities after the 17th and the 18th plenums.

This resoluteness was expressed by the warning by Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who said that the deadlines for completing all tasks must be met at any price. Of course, this does not only refer to the fact that the Central Committee, its Presidium, and the working bodies should complete their obligations concerning the implementation of the tasks set at the 17th and the 18th sessions in a timely manner, but also, as was stressed in a brief discussion, to the fact that by returning to their basic and communal LC organizations, the Central Committee members should restore the power of LC action.

Ivan Brigic said that one must not forget that at both the LCY Conference and the 17th session it was noted that our basic weakness has in fact been the lack of activity on the part of the basic LC organizations, where the real battle for changes is being waged.

This is particularly true considering that without making any progress in curbing inflation, which reached 235 percent in October, we will not be able to solve anything, Marko Orlandic warned.

Along with the demands for resolving economic difficulties, there were also calls for documents, such as the Operative Program of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, to not only preserve the assessments on the gravity of the political situation in Kosovo, but to preserve the strict obligations of all bodies and organizations to reexamine their responsibilities in implementing the LCY conclusions on Kosovo. This was stressed by Slobodan Filipovic and Slobodan Milosevic.

Milosevic recalled that this is primarily the obligation of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and its Presidium. He also said that in its activities, the LC must take care not only to determine what is unacceptable at the meetings and rallies, but primarily to resolve the justified demands of the working people expressed at them.

During the discussion on ideopolitical issues concerning the reform of the economic system—about which Stefan Korosec, secretary of the Presidium, made an introductory speech—the key question was what the main message of the 19th LCY Central Committee session should be, in other words, what the main direction of LC action should be in implementing the economic reform. Recalling that at the First LCY Conference and the 17th plenum the LC opted for a socialism of the future, that is to say for a new stage in the development of socialism, Korosec said that this would only be possible to achieve on the basis of three reforms. In his opinion, the LCY is facing the same test it was facing in 1948 and 1952 because the party should have anticipated the complexity and importance of transformation into socialism at that time as well as now. He supported his thesis with three arguments. The first is that we have had continuous reforms since 1965 but we have not completed any of them. The second is that 10 years have passed since the joint session of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium, which adopted stands on the policy of stabilization, but we continue to experience deeper and deeper not only economic but also political crises. The third argument Korosec was based on more recent times, in the fact that we have not sensibly used the $1.4 billion we received through the rescheduling of foreign debts. The consequence of this is record inflation and a drastic fall in the standard of living. Stefan Korosec also explained the LCY Central Committee Presidium's view on the economic reform:

[Begin Koresec recording] With 1989 we are, I would say, starting a process of profound reforms, but this has not been entered as a conclusion in all our present documents. In my view the Central Committee session should adopt this kind of approach and not support some practical measures of economic policy and laws which are a matter for the Assembly, which are in the FEC's sphere of competence. This is where confrontations should take place regarding these specific questions, and not in the LCY Central Committee. [end recording]

The secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium favored a more precise stand by the LCY toward the restructuring of the economy, socialist entrepreneurialship, the transformation of social activities, and Yugoslavia's foreign economic relations. In adopting a stand on these questions of development, it is of utmost importance to bear in mind the essence of the ideopolitical tenets adopted at the 13th congress and the First LCY Conference. This is a joint message from the discussion on this issue.

In the opinion of Marko Orlandic, in all this the LC must bear in mind the great danger that stems from the public not having taken sufficient part in the discussions on economic reforms.

For Petar Simic and Miljan Radovic, the most important question for the Central Committee to answer is how to stimulate the people to take part and how to overcome ideological differences on some aspects of economic reforms.

Stanko Stojcevic said that the economic reform is difficult to carry out without a reform of social activities and without the transformation of the state administration.

Jakov Lazaroski said that we need some sort of political platform which can synthesize all three reforms. The LCY Central Committee should provide elements for doing this in the tasks due to be adopted at the 19th session.

The Presidium also discussed the draft of the work program of the LCY Central Committee Commission for the Transformation of the LCY, which was set up at the 17th session. This commission should present the first ideas about the direction of the party reforms to the highest party body by the end of January.

While explaining this document, Radisa Gacic drew particular attention to several questions that should be answered during the work on the platform for the transformation of the LCY. The first is whether the Program of the LCY should be changed. An equally important question is whether anything should be changed in the role and place of the LCY in society.

The session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium continues.

Discusses Congress Preparations

LD0211183788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1349 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Nov (TANJUG)—At last night's session, the LCY Central Committee Presidium, which was presided over by Stipe Suvar, exchanged views on the basic questions of the concept and content of the 14th LCY Congress. The preparations for the next congress, it was announced, should be approached in a way demanded by the time and the important problems with which we are confronted, which should ensure that the 14th congress theoretically organizes the further development of socialism in Yugoslavia on the fundamental strategic course of the Yugoslav socialist revolution and socialist self-management. It was also stressed that the 14th congress should be devoted to democratic transformations in the reform of the LCY in the realization of its leading ideopolitical role.

In keeping with the immediate tasks of the 17th LCY Central Committee session, the Presidium will speed up work on elaborating the concept of the preparations for the congress and propose them to the LCY Central Committee.

The Presidium concluded that the joint session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, designed to help with the urgent and consistent implementation of the immediate tasks of the 17th LCY Central Committee session on Kosovo, will be held on Monday, 7 November in Belgrade, after the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium consider their obligations in implementing the immediate tasks of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo and adopt the appropriate decisions.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium went on in its work to acquaint itself with the course of the preparations for the session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee and with the proposals of basic and municipal organizations for cadre changes in the provincial committee and its presidium.

In this connection the Presidium assessed that the stabilization of the political situation and cadre changes should be achieved in a democratic atmosphere, by fully affirming and enhancing the authority of LC organs and other organs and institutions of the system. Appropriate cadre changes must be based on an objective and well-reasoned evaluation of the work of LC members and members of LC organs. This will contribute to restoring confidence in the LC and strengthening its action mobility and effectiveness.

In addition to the obvious positive results of the democratic processes which are open, some negative and unacceptable tendencies which are not in keeping with LC policy are being expressed in the Vojvodina LC. They should be combated in a well-argumented and principled way in each environment. It is important to take note of this because the overall consolidation of the situation in the province is being hampered by phenomena of the overheated politicization of individual events as well as passivity and aloofness regarding urgently needed political involvement.

The Presidium stresses that it is particularly important that in the Vojvodina LC, serious errors in the activity of the LC leadership, especially those who contributed to separating the LC leadership from the membership and working people, as well as the methods of work which sanctioned decisionmaking in forums and ignored the wishes and demands of the membership , strengthening bureaucratic relations and in essence promoting an opportunist attitude toward the realization of LCY policy, especially on the matter of unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia, be overcome as soon as possible.

In this connection it was stressed that the responsibility of individuals, organs, and organizations for the mistakes they made and for the consequences of mistaken policy should be considered and resolved in accordance with a democratic procedure, in a responsible and principled way and in keeping with the LCY Statute. In the process there should be resolute opposition to every form of opportunism and self-justification as well as to phenomena of the wholesale and poorly thought out accusations against, and the singling out for criticism of, individuals and organs.

The working group, as the temporary executive-political organ of the provincial committee, should fully carry out the tasks for which it was formed. In implementing the measures and actions for political consolidation in the province, the assistance and coordinated cooperation of the members of the LCY Central Committee and the Serbian LC Central Committee responsible for individual municipal organizations, as well as of working groups and activists of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Serbian LC Central Commitee Presidium responsible for monitoring work and providing direct assistance to the Vojvodina LC, is particularly important.

The activities of the Vojvodina LC organs and organizations should be oriented, above all, to the most rapid possible stabilization of the situation in the LC and in socioeconomic and political life as a whole. This requires the increased mobilization of the membership, organizations, and leadership of the Vojvodina LC in realizing the immediate tasks of the 17th LCY Central Committee session, the implementation of the reform, and the resolution of the developmental problems of work organizations, municipalities, and the province.

It is particulary important that LC members and organizations involve themselves in the fundamental preparations for the next session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, and cadre recruitment to it, and in a critical assessment of the ideopolitical situation in the LC of the province. In this spirit conditions should also be created for the successful preparation and holding, in keeping with statutory norms, of an extraordinary Vojvodina LC conference which should, in addition to providing a critical assessment of the situation in the Vojvodina LC and of cadre renewal, define the basic guidelines for the further development of the province and the activity of the Vojvodina LC in the implementation of the economic reform, the reform of the political system, and the transformation of the LCY.

The Presidium will inform the LCY Central Committee about the political situation in Vojvodina and the activities of the organs and organizations of the LC in this connection at the next session, it says in a communique from the sesion.

Completion of Cadre Renewal Seen by Year's End

LD0211205088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1904 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, November 2 (TANJUG)—The cadre renewal of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee and Presidency, announced at the 17th LCY Central Committee session, is to be completed by the end of the year, as decided today at a meeting between LCY Presidency Secretary Styefan Korosec and the secretaries of the party presidencies of the six Yugoslav republics and two autonomous provinces.

The cadre renewal of the Yugoslav party leadership will as decided today, be carried out in two stages. By the 19th LCY Central Committee session, set for early December, the republican and provincial party leaderships are to submit the lists of names of those who are to go and by the 20th Yugoslav party plenum, at the end of the year, the list of names of those who are to take the vacated seats.

The recent 17th Yugoslav party plenum was termed at today's meeting a step towards the country's consolidation, as an indispensable prerequisite for the implementation of the necessary reforms in society. Attention was, however, drawn to the fact that the displayed unity will not be of much use unless all segments of Yugoslav society undertake promptly and concretely to resolve all problems which give rise to public dissatisfaction.

Speaking about the tasks lying ahead of the Yugoslav Communists, Stefan Korosec stressed the necessity of the implementation of three reforms—economic, political and party. In that context, he specified that, without the party reform, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia would not be able to head the battle for the other two reforms—economic and political.

Serbia-Kosovo Joint Session Ends

LD0311043088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0400 GMT 3 Nov 88

["Joint Session of Serbia and Kosovo Party Presidencies"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 2 (TANJUG)—Individual responsibilty of members of the Kosovo League of Communists (LC) Provincial Committee and its presidency for nonimplementation of party conclusions on the normalization of the situation in the province must be determined as soon as possible, it was concluded late last night at a joint session here of the Serbian and Kosovo party leaderships.

Kosovo, an autonomous province within the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, is troubled by activities of ethnic Albanian chauvinists and separatists.

The unanimously adopted conclusions at the session note that all those in the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee and its presidency who have lost the confidence of the people and the LC membership must go.

The Kosovo party leadership's proposal on Tuesday that the Kosovo Provincial Committee publicly censure its leadership was assessed as insufficient.

The meeting of the two party presidencies takes place after the October 17th Plenum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee censured the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee for failing to confront the counterrevolutionary activities by Albanian

chauvinists and separatists, under whose terror Serbs and Montenegrins are moving out of the province. Such censure was pronounced for the first time in the history of the Yugoslav party.

More than 30,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have fled Kosovo since the eruption of the separatist counterrevolution in 1981.

Serbian party leader Slobodan Milosevic stressed in his closing speech that cadre changes in the Kosovo leadership cannot be guided by the changes being implemented throughout the LCY, because the situation in the province was not regular, but extraordinarily serious. The tempo and extent of the changes in the Kosovo leadership must thus be the greatest, Milosevic underscored.

The debate at the two presidencies joint session was polemically intoned—while members of the Serbian party leadership maintained that individual responsibility of members of the Kosovo LC Central Committee and presidency must urgently be determined. Members of the Kosovo party leadership did not deny that cadre changes were needed, as more capable people were called for, but not due to the accountability of the present cadres, most of whom have occupied the posts since 1986.

Secretary of the Serbia LC Central Committee Zoran Sokolovic cited that the Kosovo party Central Committee and its presidency condemned the protest rallies of Serbs and Montenegrins, to which they resorted to in response to the terror by Albanian chauvinists and separatists. The Kosovo party Central Committee and its presidency failed to prevent the indoctrination of ethnic Albanian youth with chauvinism and separatism, and did not urge changes of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, Sokolovic said.

A joint meeting of the party presidencies of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Kosovo, scheduled for Monday, November 7, will be devoted to the implementation of the stands on Kosovo adopted at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee, the Yugoslav party leadership stated on Wednesday.

Kosovo Serbs Postpone Emigration Discussions

AU0211113688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Oct 88 p 3

[M. A. report: "Talks on Emigration Next Week"]

[Text] Kosovo Polje, 30 Oct—The Committee for the Protection of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and Metohija, which was set up at the last protest meeting in Kosovo Polje immediately after the 17th LCY Central Committee session, met yesterday in Kosovo Polje and decided to temporarily postpone discussions on the collective emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

The discussions on a possible collective emigration will resume next week, immediately after the joint session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium. If, as was stated, the decisions of this session turn out to be the expected answers to the conditions made by the inhabitants of Kosovo Polje, which is to say, if the individual and collective accountability of the provincial leaderships, particularly of the Provincial Committee Presidium, is established, then there will be no reason for collective emigration. Otherwise, it was stressed, it will be difficult to stop the people from starting to collectively emigrate.

The committee appealed to Serbs and Montenegrins to refrain from any mass visits to Belgrade before or during the joint session of the three presidiums "because if the torture of Albanian separatists has been withstood so far, it can be suffered for a few more days so that the country's top leadership can work undisturbed."

Youth Leaders Discuss Kosovo, Emigration

LD0211202388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1931 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Pristina, Nov 2 (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Yugoslav youth organization today requested of the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia and other competent (?bodies) to establish as soon as possible the precise number of emigrants, who have left the neighboring Albania and settled in Kosovo since World War Two, and the number of those among them who are in any way involved in the activities of Albanian chauvinists and separatists in the Yugoslav province.

The demand was voiced in a discussion at a session of the federal youth leadership held in Kosovo's capital, Pristina, today.

The number of Albanian emigrants in Kosovo, an autonomous province within Yugoslavia's Republic of Serbia, is unofficially estimated at tens of thousands. It is claimed that many of them cooperate with Albanian chauvinists and separatists in Kosovo, whose main aim is to secede the province to Albania.

The leadership of the Yugoslav youth today also demanded a resolute reform of the system of education in Kosovo, which would completely prevent the indoctrination of the youth by separatist ideas.

The leadership assessed that the situation in the province is very serious and that national divisions have also affected the youth organization. The discussion participants unanimously urged that the youth of Kosovo and their leadership be more engaged in the struggle against Albanian separatism and for the promotion of internationality relations.

Several participants in the discussion criticized the provincial youth leadership for its inactivity. There were also demands that the responsibility of the forum's members for passiveness and opportunism be established.

Sentences in Paracin Killings Upheld

LD0211052588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1258 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, November 1 (TANJUG)—The Supreme Military Court in Belgrade on Tuesday confirmed the 20-year prison sentences pronounced by the military court of second instance last April on Rizah Dzakli and Abdiljzemil Alimani for helping in last year's killing of soldiers.

In the night of September 3, 1987, Aziz Kelmendi, an ethnic Albanian, killed in cold blood with shots from an automatic rifle four and wounded five of the soldiers spleeping in a barracks at Paracin. Kelmendi, who also served his military term there, later escaped from the barracks and committed suicide.

The court found that the crime was committed from chauvinistic motives and that Kelmendi was helped by Dzakli and Alimani, also ethnic Albanians, sentencing each to 20 years' imprisonment.

The Supreme Military Court's ruling rejected the appeals lodged by their attorneys as unfounded. Dzakli and Alimani can now only request an extraordinary review of the sentences by the Federal Court.

Target Inflation Rate 'Almost Doubled'

AU0211113888 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Nov 88 p 12

[Unattributed report: "From October to October 236.3 Percent"]

[Text] The Federal Institute for Statistics reported that the October price increase (19.1 percent) was mainly caused by increases in the price of cigarettes, electricity, rail and post office services, sugar, and footwear.

October retail prices were 236.3 percent higher than in the same month last year. Compared with December last year they rose by 173.4 percent, which means that the so-called target inflation of 90 or 95 percent was almost "doubled."

The lion's share of price increases "goes to" foodstuffs, almost 40 percent. In October, the price of products and services of vital importance for the standard of living rose by 223.2 percent compared with the same month last year.

Popovski Discusses Constitutional Amendments

LD0211051588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2001 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, November 1 (TANJUG)—Amendments of the Yugoslav Constitution provide for the necessary deregulation of the economic system and give the green light for market laws, said Dusan Popovski, president of the Yugoslav Assembly, at a press conference today.

He pointed out that the draft amendments, recently adopted by the Executive Council of Yugoslavia's bicameral parliament, are bringing a series of changes as seen in greatly improved conditions for investing foreign capital, for rehabilitating all forms of ownership, and for firms to be better adapted to the market.

In the socio-political system, underscored Popovski, important innovations are in the management of firms, especially in consolidating the role of workers' councils and the opening of the road to "direct and secret ballot at elections, and with a number candidates at all levels."

The amendments do not change relations within the federation or its character, said Popovski, but they do introduce a number of new elements to make the federation more efficient.

Popovski also said that, on the basis of constitutional amendments, foreign capital owners in Yugoslavia will be able to found banks, participate in the founding of mixed firms, will have the right to the transfer of profits and the return of investments, and will have influence in the management of firms.

Asked about the alleged uncertainties in reference to the date of the announcement of constitutional amendments, and, in this reference, about the divided views on the amendments in the province of Kosovo, Popovski underscored that it can safely be said that they will be declared as originally announced—on November 29.

17th Plenum Conclusions Viewed With Restraint

AU3110205188 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Oct 88 p 5

[Radivoje Petrovic commentary: "Sincerity on Trial"]

[Text] Having learned from experience not to act rashly in adopting the final conclusions on the most important party decisions, the domestic political public has many reasons to be restrained after the LCY Central Committee's 17th session and the publication of the direct tasks.

Although what was written down on paper represents a necessary step forward, it should not be forgotten that the credit for this should perhaps not go to the revolutionary mood of the members of the LCY Central Committee as much as to the democratic pressure that

has been exerted by the widest and generally dissatisfied strata of the party leadership. Only now when the conclusions have been adopted and the obligations of everyone have been specified, will it be verified how much of the sincere support for unity, which was expressed during the adoption of one of the most important party documents in recent time, will be manifested in the daily practical political activity of each member of the LC leadership.

When the decisions of the 17th session are carefully analyzed it becomes obvious that a significant evolution has taken place concerning many important questions. After more than a decade of discussions about whether Serbia can be a state like all the others within Yugoslavia, only now with the stands of the last plenum has it been judged that there should no longer be any dilemma about this and that the demands that have been coming from this republic for such a long time are in line with LCY policy and its documents. After long vacillations even the party leadership now has precise conclusions which only need to be consistently implemented.

A Positive Result

Attitudes to the mass meetings and the rallies of solidarity with the disenfranchized peoples in Kosovo have also essentially changed. Instead of counting the heads of bearded agents provocateurs and looking for suspicious slogans, the LCY Central Committee has, to put it briefly, accepted the rallies and at least in the session's document given precedence to what well-intentioned and dissatisfied people are thinking. This is allied with the fact that it has accepted the initiative of the Serbian LC Central Committee that the responsibility of Azem Vlasi, Svetislav Dolasevic, and Kolj Siroka be discussed. It would of course be biased and narrow-minded to reduce the solution of the Kosovo drama only to the cadre issue but initiating the question of responsibility using names and surnames even at the Yugoslav level, is a good turn around, of course, on the condition that everything does not remain only on paper. Talking about collective responsibility for the situation in Kosovo for years without mentioning the most influential individuals has become a real fuse for dissatisfaction, especially among Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins and Albanians who are Yugoslav oriented. Does this mean, regardless of the final outcome, that the mood in the top Yugoslav leadership concerning a solution to the Kosovo drama has gone beyond issuing simple political warnings? As has already been announced, the 19th LCY Central Committee session will produce the first answer to this question.

Judging by its conclusions, the 17th session has in fact produced positive answers to the issues that have been fermenting in political life in recent months, and has confirmed the value of the endeavor expressed by millions of people at the meetings and rallies and by the Serbian LC Central Committee. For example, on a very few occasions in our more recent history, the people's demands were reflected in specific political decisions. The outcome of the session, from which much had been expected, is in this context positive, but one must now show in practice that people's objections were accepted because everything that was written down in the direct tasks of the 17th LCY Central Committee session was adopted under the unusual pressure of certain arguments and the publicly expressed will of the people rather than because of some excessive sincerity and determination to make a necessary and radical incision.

Unity Under Shadow [subhead]

The extent of political sincerity in the Central Committee was best demonstrated in the closing stage of the 17th session. Holding a vote of confidence in the Presidium as the executive political body cast a shadow on unity achieved during the adoption of the session's final document. The episode involving the secret ballot and Dusan Ckrebic, who was the only one not to "go through," demonstrated different kinds of moods. It was in fact Ckrebic who proved himself to be a consistent fighter in solving the problems for which the LCY Central Committee unanimously adopted positive decisions. Of course the procedure is not finished, because Ckrebic is still a member of the Presidium. One should say that what was adopted publicly has to a great extent been canceled out in the secret ballot. A logical dilemma is: How will the LCY Central Committee approach the most important tasks in the future when it has "punished" one of its members just because of these tasks? Perhaps one should look for a possible answer to this "unprincipled coalition" in this double role and the political insincerity of the LCY Central Committee members.

The first public reactions show that such a decision was accepted in a fairly dramatic way which is a good indicator prior to the inevitable check in the party grassroots which, since this is already a matter of a turnabout, should have the final word. If the country's party leadership has decided, even if it was under pressure, to answer to the demands of the broadest membership, then, as regards this specific cadre question, it should also wait for the voice of the grassroots. This is especially true because such an epilogue to the voting has opened many more new questions concerning mutual relations in the LCY than has produced answers to old questions.

The party leadership, whether it wanted to or not, had to give in to the strong demands of the broadest workers' strata. Any great expectations that everything would go "smoothly" would have been politically naive. In other words, as Slobodan Milosevic said in his speech to the workers in Rakovica immediately after the session, "the obstacles that are causing dissatisfaction should not discourage us. On the contrary, the LC members who were justifiably criticized cannot applaud this criticism. A great process of democratization has started and will

not be stopped. The workers class represents the strongest foundation of this process. The battle against conservative and bureaucratic forces will be won by the workers class and this will be the beginning of the way out of the crisis and a truly successful development."

Great democratization will take place only if we indeed sincerely approach changes and if we start stripping the bureaucracy of power with the same resoluteness with which we adopted the direct tasks. Experience of the past periods is too painfully felt by everybody to believe that everything is easily feasible.

The announced cadre renewal inevitably requires a similar restraint, too. In addition, it is not necessary, as was stressed at the 17th session, to overly dramatize the fact that some people are leaving the political scene. At present, who will replace them is more important, considering that cadre selection always allows for the possibility that the post can be filled by those whose first question is: "Who pushed me?" After all, in our political practice there are many substantiated proofs of this kind of cadre policy.

Compromises as Reality

On the other hand, among current party leaderships there is also much opportunism, compassion, and caution, and therefore cadre compromises are our reality. Is this not indicted by the discussion on the criteria for cadre renewal in the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Central Committee itself, or even better, by the justification with which the resignations of France Setinc, Milanko Renovica, Bosko Krunic, and Kolj Siroka were accepted and "explained?" If one did not know the reasons why they were forced to make this move, one would think that, listening to Suvar's view on them, they were the candidates for the most important posts in the LC. The LCY Central Committee adopted all this without discussion, which it could not afford at any price in the present political situation. This kind of attitude is often seen by the political public as an alibi for what is to follow.

The biggest problem of the LCY Central Committee in all this will certainly be how to satisfy the demands of the 2 million members and the people, and how to convince them that, besides many of its blunders, its is capable and ready to sincerely start on a new path. This will be a real rebus for the renewed leadership at the time when the wishes of the broadest strata are regionalized according to the republican and provincial party membership. This is in fact why, in addition to the announced cadre changes, the 17th session will be remembered for opening one of the most important issues, the transformation of the LC. Setting up the commission for the transformation of the LCY, even though it has been some 5 months since the Conference decided this, does not necessarily have to mean anything if the party meanwhile does not rid itself of all minor illnesses with which previous reforms were also approached. However, it could also become a center of something new and modern if the work is focused on one and only one task, that is how to transform the LCY from a federalized union of eight monolithic parties into the real vanguard of the Yugoslav workers class. It is clear even to political laymen that this work requires the most radical moves, regardless of the dangers and traps that they may carry themselves. In brief, without this the LC will not be able to offer anything new for tomorrow, let alone solve what is bothering us today.

The last, the 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum, must in fact be judged by what it offers for tomorrow. The only question is how fast the adopted decisions will be transformed into a real and encouraging policy and to what extent the shyly made political moves at the 17th session and the incipient cadre changes will become a new way to behave in the LC. Commanders that are losing battles cannot firmly remain in the saddle, just like there should no longer be places in armchairs for those who do not listen to the demands of the people. Whether the 17th LCY Central Committee session will be marked as the turning point will depend on the extent of this practice becoming the beginning of the announced party reform. Oaths to the public were put on paper. The only remaining thing is to feel them in everyday life, because the people do not believe in adopted conclusions any more.

Stanovnik Meets Shultz in Washington

LD0311094788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0148 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Washington, Nov 2 (TANJUG)—President of the Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia Janez Stanovnik, who is on an unofficial visit in the United States, had talks on Wednesday with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz on the reforms in Yugoslavia following last October's 17th Plenum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee.

Stanovnik informed Shultz about the basic points of the reforms of the party, and the economic and political systems aimed at surmounting the economic and social crisis in Yugoslavia. Shultz spoke positively about Yugoslavia's efforts to resolve its problems.

Stanovnik is in Washington to attend the annual assembly of the international institute for economic management. He is a member of the institute's board.